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THE DEANE PAPERS.

VOL. III.

1778–1779.

THE DEANE PAPERS.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 7th October, 1778.

Sir,—In consequence of my letter of the 24th ult., I had the honor of receiving the order of Congress of the 26th, directing me to attend on the 29th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, that day being assigned for my being heard; I was at the same time favored with extracts from Mr. Izard's letters. On the 29th, I was served with an order of Congress, which postponed my being heard to some future time. On the 3d instant an extract of a letter from the honorable Arthur Lee, dated Paris, June 1st, 1778, was given me by order of Congress. I have for some time past waited with the greatest impatience for an opportunity of being heard before that honorable body, confident that my peculiar situation will excuse my impatience. I must, without repeating what I have already had the honor of writing to you, once more urge for as early an audience as the important business before Congress will admit of.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

Silas Deane.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev. I. 127

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Wednesday, October 6th, 1778. A letter of this day from S. Deane, Esquire, was read.

Ordered to lie on the table.

Journals of Congress.

Queries by Silas Deane.

The Printer is desired to insert the following queries in his next paper, or as early as may be: An answer to them will (if truly given) throw great light on a transaction at present dark and mysterious, and put the public out of all doubt as to the character and designs of Dr. Berkenhout.

1st. Did not the Doctor, for many months before his coming to America, carry on a correspondence with the Hon. A. Lee, Esq., at Paris?

2d. Was not Doctor Berkenhout, at the time of carrying on that Correspondence, known to be in the service, and under the direction of the British Ministry?

3d. Did not the Doctor on his arrival in Philadelphia, apply to an Honorable Member of Congress, and did he not bring letters from Europe with him to that Member?

4th. Was not the account which the Doctor* gave of himself, sufficient to prove that he was sent out by the British Administration, to find what was the temper and disposition of some men of influence in Congress, to learn the situation of our affairs, and if a negocia-

* The Doctor pretended that he had come to America to make a settlement; that he came to aid and assist in making a settlement betwixt the United States of North America and his masters no one can doubt, but that a person should abandon his fortune and every thing behind him in England, in order to come to America to join its inhabitants, and become a citizen of these States during a war betwixt the two countries, and that after having publicly declared this was his intention should ask it as a favour to be permitted to return to those from whom he had just before deserted, will not be believed by any man of common sense. Besides, a paragraph lately extracted from one of the London papers points out this very Doctor Berkenhout and Mr. John Temple as persons fixed upon by the Ministry to be sent over as secret negociators, and the Querist is credibly informed that Mr. Temple, since his arrival at New York, has applied (but without success) for permission to wait upon Congress. Americans, Watch!

tion could be opened with hopes of success; in a word, that he was at once a spy and a supplement to the British Commissioners?

5th. Is it not incumbent on Brigadier-General Maxwell, or the officer commanding at the post where Doctor Berkenhout first came when he left the city of New York, to inform the public on what account and upon what Credentials he permitted that person to pass the guards?

6th. At whose instance or solicitation was this spy and emissary of Lord North suffered to slip out of prison, and to return, with all the intelligence which several weeks diligent enquiry had furnished him with, to his employers, and our inveterate enemies?

QUERIST.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Oct. 10, 1778.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 12th October, 1778.

SIR,—I received your letter of the 7th instant, in which you informed me that mine of the same date to you was by Congress ordered to lie on the table until the examination of Mr. Carmichael should be finished.

Though totally unable even to conjecture what relation the examination of that gentleman can possibly have to those abusive and injurious letters, written by Mr. Izard and Mr. Lee, yet, as I had so often troubled Congress during a three months' attendance, with my repeated solicitations to be heard, I forbore repeating them until neither my health, my interest, nor my honor will permit me a much longer stay in America; I have, therefore, taken the liberty of enclosing my answers to the letters of those gentlemen. It pains me to be obliged to answer at all, and it grieves me exceedingly to be deprived of the opportunity of doing it in person; I still hope to be indulged before leaving America. I have only further to inform Con-

gress that I shall go into the country to-morrow, for a few days; that having engaged a passage in a ship which will sail for France sometime next month, I propose to leave Philadelphia in a few days after I return from the country, in order to embark, and shall esteem myself honored by Congress if they have any thing further in which I may be of service to my country, if they will favor me with their commands.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 128.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 12th October, 1778.

SIR,—In the extracts from the letters of the honorable Mr. Izard, I find charges which respect me, supported by his opinions, and by what he declares to have heard from the honorable Arthur Lee, who, by his own account, is my irreconcilable enemy. I find also charges against the honorable Dr. Franklin and myself jointly, supported on the same grounds, with this difference, that almost every complaint against us lies equally against Mr. Lee; and it is worthy of remark, that where the charge lies equally against us all, Mr. Izard leaves Mr. Lee wholly out, and fixing it solely on Dr. Franklin and myself, proceeds to represent the Doctor as entirely under my influence. My situation has through the whole been peculiarly unfortunate, and in nothing more so than in this, that Mr. Izard's letters, written as much with the design of impeaching Dr. Franklin's conduct as mine, now operates solely against me.

Mr. Izard says in his letter of the first of April, "That if the whole world had been searched, it would have been impossible to have found a person more unfit than I was for the trust with which Congress

had honored me." It does not become me, and possibly not even Mr. Izard himself, to determine on my competency to that trust, and I have only to observe that both of us were appointed by the authority of Congress, with this only difference, that I had the honor of being personally known to the members who composed that body, and I can add with pleasure that I always paid respect to Mr. Izard from the choice they had made of him, which I doubt not was on good information. I shall feel no uneasiness on my own account, that Mr. Izard's opinions of me remain on the journals of Congress, whilst on the same records there will be found that of his Most Christian Majesty, of his Minister, and Secretary of State, and of my venerable colleague, revered through Europe as the first of patriots, as well as philosophers, whom this age has produced. I find but two charges which respect me personally; the first is, the exercising such a degree of hauteur and presumption as to give offence to every gentleman with whom I transacted business. I transacted none with Mr. Izard, and therefore must appeal from his opinion to the business I transacted, and the worthy and honorable persons with whom I transacted it, and who, from the first of my acquaintance with them to my leaving the kingdom, honored me with their friendship and their confidence. I desire it may be remembered, that, when I went abroad, charged with the transaction of political and commercial business for Congress, in the year 1776, I arrived at Paris as late in the season as the month of July, without funds, uncertain of remittances, without credit, ignorant of the language and manners of France, and an utter stranger to the persons in power and influence at Court; that I had not the patronage of any person of importance, and had no correspondence or connexions established in any part of Europe. The news of our misfortunes in Canada arrived in France with me, and that of our subsequent misfortunes immediately after, and was, as

usual, exaggerated by the British Ambassador and his emissaries. In a word, without remittances, or even intelligence from Congress, and under all these disagreeable circumstances, I had to oppose the artifice, the influence, and the power of Great Britain; yet I had the pleasing reflection that before the first of December following, I procured thirty thousand stand of arms, thirty thousand suits of clothes, more than two hundred and fifty pieces of brass artillery, tents, and other stores to a large amount, provided the ships to transport them, and shipped a great part of them for America. Many of these supplies fortunately arrived at the commencement of the last year's operations, and enabled my brave countrymen in some parts of America to make a good stand against the enemy, and in the north to acquire immortal renown by the defeat and surrender of General Burgoyne and his whole army, an event peculiarly fortunate in its consequences, as it accelerated the completion of that alliance, to which the honorable Congress, with every true friend to the United States, have given their approbation. During this short period I had established a very extensive correspondence for the service of my country, not only in France but in Holland, at the Court of Russia, and elsewhere in Europe; and though the grant of money by the Court of Versailles was not at this time actually made, I had entered upon the negotiation and laid the foundation for obtaining it. These facts, without mentioning others of no less importance, will shew what business I transacted, and the character given me by those great personages with whom I was in my public character connected, will evince the degree of reputation in which I stood. It is my misfortune that Mr. Izard was of a different opinion.

The second charge is, that Mr. Arthur Lee had assured him that his despatches to Congress, and even one of his private letters, had been opened by me. I am surprised Mr. Arthur Lee never intimated this to

me, and that he should communicate it to Mr. Izard, to be reported in this manner. I think it, however, sufficient for me to say here, what I shall say elsewhere, and on all occasions, that this is a groundless calumny, which I should not have expected, even from an enemy, at least not from a candid or generous one.

Mr. Izard complains that Dr. Franklin and myself concealed from him, or attempted to conceal, the opportunities of writing to America, as well as the intelligence received from thence. In reply to this, it need only be observed, that no packets or letters were sent by the commissioners to America and to Congress, without the knowledge and consent of Mr. Arthur Lee, and no intelligence received to which he was not privy. That he was often with Mr. Izard, and therefore it was naturally to be supposed would give him every necessary information; if Mr. Lee did not acquaint Mr. Izard, he is at least equally culpable with us; and if he did, there is no ground for the complaint. It is true, that neither Dr. Franklin nor myself considered ourselves at liberty to communicate the treaty or its contents, until the consent of the Court should be had; we considered ourselves in the same situation as to the appointment of Mons. Gerard, and the sailing of the Toulon fleet. Mr. Izard appears, however, to have been well informed of the former at least, and that very early, and of the latter on the day of our leaving Paris. Mr. Arthur Lee knew of it sometime before, as he wrote many letters by his Excellency Mons. Gerard. In justice, therefore, the complaint ought not to have been made solely against Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, and particularly against the latter.

Mr. Izard represents that there were dissensions and misunderstandings between the commissioners at Paris. It is true. He is of opinion that the interest of the public suffered by it, but in this he is mistaken, as the treaty itself and all our other public transactions

will demonstrate. Mr. Izard is of opinion that France might have been brought to have taken an active part much earlier. If circumstances not in our power had taken place earlier, they possibly might; but even in that case they would have done it under great disadvantages, as is evident from the representation I made to Congress when I had the honor of being heard on the 19th of August last. As the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty are complained of, and as this subject immediately interests the public, I have drawn up a concise narration of the whole of that transaction, and have communicated it to his Excellency Mons. Gerard, who agrees to the truth of every part thereof which has come to his knowledge. This I beg leave to present to Congress, as it will show that Mr. Izard had not the best information, and that neither Dr. Franklin or myself (though "born in New England") procured the insertion of those articles; it will further show that the Court of France never urged it, but on the contrary left us perfectly free to have them both inserted or both omitted. It will also appear, that Mr. Lee himself wrote and signed the letter, desiring they might be inserted, and that he afterwards had a private conference with M. Gerard on the subject, and appeared perfectly satisfied. If any doubts arise on this subject, I shall be happy to refer for satisfaction on that head to Mons. Gerard, and also for what passed between Mr. Lee and himself on the occasion, as well as for the pretended verbal promise that the article should be expunged if objected to by Congress. I have signed that narration, and shall sign these observations, in which I have avoided taking those advantages of Mr. Izard, which the passionate and partial complexion of his letters has given me, were I disposed to make use of them; because I conceive it to be an abuse, if not an insult, to trouble Congress with anything merely personal, though I have provocation sufficient to justify me in the eyes of the world, and am by no means deficient in materials.

I recollect perfectly well the interview at Passy with Mr. William Lee, at which Mr. Izard was present, but I do not remember that any such letter as he describes was either desired or refused. I rather think that Mr. Izard misunderstood Dr. Franklin at the time, or that his memory has deceived him. The facts are these: The late Mr. Thomas Morris had a commission to act as commercial agent; his commission was entirely distinct from, and independent of, the commissioners; he at least construed it so himself from the beginning. We were very early informed of his irregularities, and admonished him, and advertised Congress of them. As we could get no account of the disposition of the prizes brought into France, and the expense of repairing and equipping the vessels of war fell on the commissioners, Dr. Franklin and myself (Mr. A. Lee being then at Berlin) deputed Mr. Williams to take the care of the prizes into his own hands, and ordered the Captains to account with him. On Mr. William Lee's arrival at Nantes he joined with Mr. Morris in writing a severe letter to the commissioners on what they had done, in which they complained that the office or department of commercial agent was broken in upon, and that we had no power over it. Dr. Franklin, at the desire of Mr. A. Lee and myself, prepared an answer, in which the reason of our orders was given, and Mr. Morris' conduct urged as our principal motive, but that as he, Mr. William Lee, was there, we would recall our commission from Mr. Williams. Mr. Arthur Lee would not agree to the form of the letter, and after much dispute upon it, a second was written, when Mr. Arthur Lee observed that his brother was coming to Paris soon to receive his commission for Vienna and Berlin, and as there were then no prizes in port, or expected, the matter might rest. This was the reason why Mr. W. Lee's letters were not answered. He came to Paris soon after, and represented the confused state in which affairs were at Nantes, and urged the interposition of

the commissioners to put the whole agency into his hands. The situation of Mr. William Lee at that time was precisely this: he had never received any commission either from Congress or their committee for the commercial agency, whilst Mr. Thomas Morris was, and had been, in the possession of a commission, and in the exercise of the agency.

Congress had made Mr. William Lee their commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, each of which places is at least a thousand miles from the scenes of our commerce, without saying anything about his former appointment, from which it was natural to suppose his former appointment had been considered as superceded by the new. We had received intelligence that the information we had given of Mr. Morris's conduct had been received and read in Congress, and that Congress notwithstanding chose to continue him in this situation. We thought it very extraordinary that we should be applied to, to interfere where Congress, knowing the facts, had declined to interfere, and still more so, that we should be requested to put (what, indeed, was not in our power) the commercial agency into the hands of a gentleman who must execute it by deputies, himself at a distance too great either to see or correct the abuses that might be practised. The letter referred to by Mr. Izard was a letter to this purpose, and I remember well (for I avoided bearing any considerable part in the conversation) Dr. Franklin's reply, which was to this purpose, that Congress by disregarding the information we had given, and continuing Mr. Morris, had impliedly censured our conduct. That Mr. Morris had treated us ill personally for what we had done, and that Mr. William Lee ought to remember that he had himself, jointly with Mr. Morris, complained of our interfering, as he thought, in that department; and, therefore, he did not incline to subject himself to any further censures, or, as he expressed it, "raps over the knuckles," for meddling in the affair. We were,

indeed, as much surprised as Mr. Izard appears to have been on the occasion, but our surprise arose from another cause; it was to find Mr. William Lee desirous of holding such a plurality of appointments, in their own nature incompatible with each other, and impossible to have been executed by the same person. But as one of the places was supposed to be a lucrative one, the subject was too delicate to be touched on by us.

Mr. Izard says that Mr. William Lee complained that parties had been excited against him at Nantes, and that so far from having been supported by the commissioners in the execution of his duty, these gentlemen had as much as possible contributed to perplex him in the discharge of it; that he had frequently written, &c. His letters have been taken notice of already, and the reason mentioned why they were not answered. The rest of this complaint is, as far as I know anything about the matter, totally groundless; it must appear so to every one acquainted with the following particulars: Mr. William Lee never had a commission to the commercial agency, though he is now executing it by his agents. Mr. Lee's caution was such that he never even answered my letters to him in February or March, informing him that Mr. Robert Morris had written to me that he was appointed; nor did I learn anything from him of his intentions, until he arrived at Paris the summer following, where also he acted with the greatest caution, while he waited the return of his brother from Berlin. Before and after his being at Nantes, he went so far as even to desire Mr. Williams and others at Paris and at Nantes not to let it be known that he had anything to do in American affairs, as he said it would greatly prejudice his interest in London; and so far was he from ever executing, or publicly attempting to execute, that agency, until after the news of General Burgoyne's defeat had arrived in France, that he did nothing that ever I heard of, which could have prevented his

returning to the exercise of his Aldermanship in London.

Mr. Izard is pleased to say that "to let Mons. Gerard go away, without giving him the least intimation of it, was a very high insult to Congress." It was not in our power to permit or prevent Mons. Gerard's going away, and if we did not, circumstanced as we then were, think ourselves authorised to communicate it to Mr. Izard, I cannot conceive this to be a high insult to Congress; certain it is, we meant no such thing; we meant to serve, not insult, that honorable body. "The object," he says, "of these gentlemen is to have Mr. Deane come back in a public character, if not to France, perhaps to Holland, or some other part of Europe; and, therefore, they are afraid of having reasons given why this should not be the case." And he adds: "I am of opinion that he is upon every account an improper person to be employed by Congress." I have already appealed from this gentleman's opinions, so I shall say nothing further about them; his reasons, if he offers any, are to be judged of by Congress. I find, however, he had more apprehensions than reasons in this part of his letter; his apprehensions, as well as opinions, were in part, at least, groundless; he was apprehensive lest my venerable colleague would solicit some appointment for me; I do not learn that he has done it; I never desired or expected that he would. Mr. Izard, I presume, knew that I had a very extensive correspondence with gentlemen of the mercantile and monied interest and character in Europe, but particularly in Holland, where I had long before been preparing the minds of such men in favor of a loan. He knew that there was not merely a correspondence, but a strict personal friendship, subsisting between certain gentlemen in Amsterdam and at the Hague and myself, and that I had proposed to go there on the subject of the loan, as well as for other purposes. I presume, also, he knew that the French Ambassador in Holland, the Duke de Vauguyson, who spent last win-

ter in Paris, honored me with his acquaintance, and with all the politeness, as well as zeal, for the interest of the United States of North America, which make part of that nobleman's character, urged me to go there, assuring me of every personal service and civility which should be in his power. My recall prevented the execution of the plan, and Mr. Izard doubtless apprehended that I should solicit for the appointment. His apprehension was groundless; the honorable Congress know that I have not solicited for any appointment; my life and fortune, with what abilities I am blessed with, have been from the first, and will ever be, devoted to the service of my country, who are most certainly the best judges in what department they can be most useful; or if they can be of any use at all, and to their judgment I most cheerfully submit.

I have the honor to be, With the most respectful attachment, &c., SILAS DEANE.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I, 129.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 12th October, 1778.

SIR,—I beg leave to lay before Congress a few observations on the extracts from Mr. Arthur Lee's letter, dated Paris, June 1st, 1778, read in Congress the 3d instant, which were ordered to be communicated to me. Mr. Lee begins by saying that, "M. Monthieu's papers were sent to show you the demands that are made upon us, and the grounds of them; you will see that they are accounts which Mr. Deane ought to have settled."

Not having seen the accounts or papers said to have been sent, I can only reply generally, by informing Congress that I contracted with M. Monthieu (nearly at the time that I contracted with Mons. Beaumarchais for the stores) to procure ships to transport

them over to America; the rate, I was told in Paris and elsewhere, was as low as could be then procured in France; it has risen since that time. The ships were to have been dispatched in a reasonable time to and from America. Mons. Beaumarchais was my surety. The difficulty met with in getting away the stores was such, that the last of the ships did not sail from Marseilles until in September, 1777. The delay of near twelve months of some of them in France, and an uncommon delay of all of them, occasioned by repeated counter orders and fresh obstacles rising in the way of embarking those stores, as well as the unexpected detention of those ships in America, as, for instance, of the Amphitrite, from April until the October following, with the capture of them, were circumstances unforeseen and unexpected at the time of making the contract, and entitled M. Monthieu to an equitable consideration over and above the freight stipulated. Before the last ship sailed, therefore, M. Monthieu insisted that some mode for a settlement should be agreed upon, on which Dr. Franklin and myself agreed with him to submit the whole to Mons. Chaumont; the submission was made and signed. M. Monthieu, on his return from Marseilles (to which place he went immediately to embark and send off the remainder of the stores) urged M. Chaumont to undertake it. I did the same; he declined, telling me that he found Mr. Lee of so jealous and unquiet a disposition, and so much disposed to abuse every one that he had any concerns with, that he had well nigh resolved never to have any thing more to do with the commissioners while he was one of them; but as M. Monthieu had other concerns with the commissioners, he thought it best to settle the whole at once, and when the whole was ready for a settlement, if Mr. Lee would then desire him to undertake it, he would do it as well to oblige us as M. Monthieu, for whom he had a regard. This put off the settlement for the time.

Mr. Lee proceeds to say : " It is this sort of neglect and studied confusion that has prevented Mr. Adams and myself, after a tedious examination of the papers left with Dr. Franklin, from getting any satisfaction as to the expenditures of the public money. All we can find is, that millions have been expended, and almost every thing remains to be paid for."

I am not surprised at any thing of this kind from Mr. Lee, nor that Mr. John Adams has not joined with him in this letter, though I dare say that gentleman knows his duty, and has done it, as well to the public as to me. After premising that Mr. Lee had in his hands the accounts of all the monies received and paid out on the public account, I will lay before Congress the facts, which he had before him when he wrote this letter, after which Congress will be able to judge whether Mr. Lee had any grounds for his representing me as a public defaulter for millions. It is certain that Mr. Lee knew that the total amount of monies received by the commissioners to the time of my leaving Paris amounted to ..... (livres) 3,753,250

And that the balance due Mr. Grand, the 27th March, was 293,738.17

And that the whole expenditures to that day consequently was (livres) 4,046,988.17

In the next place, it will appear that by much the greater part of this was actually expended and paid out by and with Mr. Lee's consent and orders at the time; the whole was well known to him, as he had, from time to time, access to Mr. Grand's books, and Mr. Grand delivered him copies thereof up to the 27th of March last, by which he had before him an account of every payment that had been made, and I sent him in writing an explanation of every payment that had been made in his absence, or which had not been made by his written order.

The accounts of the particular articles in detail not

being here, I am unable to explain every charge in Mr. Grand's account. It is sufficient that Mr. Grand's account shows that the nature of nearly the whole expenditures was perfectly well known to Mr. Lee when he wrote the above account of millions expended, and represented he knew not how to show this. I have stated Mr. Grand's account in a shorter compass than what it was before, and have brought the different payments for particular objects made to different people into one view, as will be seen in the annexed state or explanation of Mr. Grand's account.

I have no design in answering this part of Mr. Lee's letter to go farther into the accounts than to show demonstratively that nothing can be more groundless and unjust than for him to represent that millions had been profusely expended, and as if he knew not in what manner or to what purpose. The amount of expenditures, until the time of my leaving Paris, was 4,046,988.17 livres, and it appears, as well from the nature of the account as from the knowledge Mr. Lee had of the transactions, that he knew generally of the payment of every livre, and to whom it had been made, having the accounts and the explanation of them in his hands up to the very day I set out from Paris. The particular application, indeed, of every part, could not be known until the several accounts should be given in. Mr. Lee himself signed the orders for much the greater part of the monies to Mr. Williams, and the other principal payments, and was well informed of the business which he (Mr. Williams) was executing. By this stating of the account, it will appear that the commissioners, for their private expenses, from December, 1776, to 27th March, 1778, for the support and relief of Americans escaping from prison in England, for the payment of Mons. Dumas, agent in Holland, the sending of expresses, the purchase of a large quantity of shoes which were sent to Nantes to be shipped for America,

and for several less disbursements, had of Mr. Grand only the sum of 244,285 livres, equal to the sum of ten thousand two hundred and sixty one pounds, ten shillings sterling, which is of itself a demonstration, that there was no misapplication of the public monies, since Mr. Lee has written that he could not live under three thousand pounds sterling per annum himself. Whether or not extravagant prices were given for any of the articles purchased, will be an after consideration.

Mr. Arthur Lee says "That almost every thing still remains to be paid for." I really know not what he means. Things once paid for are not to be paid for a second time, and the payments stated above are proved, by Mr. Grand's accounts, to have been bona fide made. "Bargains," he says, "of the most extravagant kind, have been made with this Mons. Monthieu and others;" and then he proceeds to give an example. As to the bargains I was concerned in with this man and with every other person, I totally deny the fact, and the example given is but a mere pretence. I am so confident of the contrary, that I will most cheerfully take every bargain made by me, or with my consent, in Europe, the contract with the Farmers-General excepted (which was partly political at the time), on myself, and will be bound to abide the profit or loss, leaving them to be judged of by the ablest merchants in Europe. Mr. Lee informs us of one hundred thousand livres given to Mr. Hodge, and that the privateer or vessel he bought cost about £3,000, or 72,000 livres, and adds: "for what purpose the surplus was given to Mr. Hodge, how the public came to pay for her refitting, and at length the vessel and her prize money made over to Mr. Ross and Mr. Hodge, without a farthing being brought to public account, rests with Mr. Deane or Mr. Hodge to explain;" and in a few lines further he says: "you will see my name is not to the contracts;" but he forgets to add that he was at Berlin when they were made.

What I have already observed upon in Mr. Lee's letter, and what I purpose to notice, confirms me in the opinion which Dr. Franklin and some others have for some time had of him, that, from a long indulgence of his jealous and suspicious disposition and habits of mind, he is at last arrived on the very borders of insanity, and that at times he even passes the line ; and it gives me pleasure, though it is but a melancholy one, that I can attribute to the misfortunes of his head what I must otherwise place to a depravity of heart.

Mr. Hodge went to Dunkirk by order of the commissioners. They sent him in consequence of orders from the Secret Committee ; he purchased and fitted out two vessels, a fact, though forgotten by Mr. Lee, known to every one at the time. From what that brave and virtuous young American did and suffered on the occasion, it was the common topic of conversation every where ; it raised insurance in England ten per cent for a time. Mr. Hodge, to appease the British Ambassador, was sent to the Bastile, and Cunningham, making his cruise round England and Ireland, put into Spain without prize money equal to the repairs he wanted. Mr. Hodge was released from his imprisonment, and one of the first things he did was to give Mr. Lee the account of his whole disbursements in writing. Mr. Hodge had taken a small interest in the adventure from the first, and proposed following Cunningham into Spain by land, and making a cruise with him. He proposed that Mr. Ross and he should purchase the vessel ; but as a price could not easily be agreed upon, they proposed to take the vessel as she was, and do the best with her against the common enemy, and to account to Congress therefor. Mr. Ross desired that such an agreement should be signed by the commissioners for his security. I know not that it was ever done. I have only to add on this subject, that all the monies received by Mr. Hodge amounted to 92,729 livres 18.3, in the whole,

and that Mr. Hodge rendered us other services besides equipping these two vessels.

Speaking of the contracts, he says: "they were, in fact, concealed from me with the utmost care, as was every other means of my knowing how these affairs were conducted." I have in reply to relate the following facts, which are easy to be ascertained. Mr. Lee, on his return from Berlin, was made acquainted with the contracts; Messrs. Holker (now in Boston), Sabbatier and Desprez repeatedly conferred with Mr. Lee on the subject in my presence, and when they brought in their accounts Mr. Lee assisted in adjusting them, and signed with us the orders for the payment, as Mr. Grand's account and the orders and accounts themselves will show. It is true, the execution of M. Monthieu's contract was not completed when I left Paris, and, therefore, his accounts could not be settled. Mr. Williams had the oversight of repairing the arms in the magazine at Nantes; he settled his accounts with his workmen monthly; he had a frigate fitting out for the commissioners, 10,000 suits of clothes making up, a number of shirts, shoes, &c., together with the charge of all the stores the commissioners were sending to Nantes to be shipped. Monthly accounts were not to be expected in reason from a man in such a situation; it could not be done if promised, and Mr. Williams is a gentleman of too much probity, as well as knowledge in business, to promise what he cannot perform. It is not enough to say, that no man in France enjoys a better character for strict honor and probity, both at Court and in the city, than Mons. Chaumont. Justice must add, there is no man enjoys it perhaps so universally through the kingdom, among the merchants, the farmers, or husbandmen and mechanics, in all which branches of business he is constantly speculating. This man is the friend of Dr. Franklin; I have the pleasure of knowing him to be mine, and what is more, the friend of my country, on all and in the most trying occasions.

I do not wonder that Mr. Lee should appear jealous of this gentleman, as well as of every body else, a select few excepted, and very few, indeed, are those who escape his jealous suspicions either in Europe or America. It is a melancholy truth, but justice to the public requires my declaring it, that I never knew Mr. Lee, from his first coming to Paris, satisfied with any one person he did business with, whether of a public or private nature, and his dealings, whether for trifles or for things of importance, almost constantly ended in a dispute, sometimes in litigious quarrels.

Mr. Lee lived some time in M. Chaumont's house. M. Chaumont knew him perfectly well, and was not reserved in speaking his opinion of him. I am sorry to be thus long on so disagreeable a subject, a subject which I cautiously waived entering on in my narration to Congress, not choosing to trouble them with matters which they might deem of a personal nature. I am grieved to have been forced on it at all, and hope never to be obliged to resume it, and as in commercial transactions there are but two sides to an account, and every thing goes to the debt or credit, the folio for profit or loss, so I must solicit that Dr. Franklin and the honorable Mr. Adams may be directed to see the settlement of all those accounts immediately on my return to Paris; and as there has been a charge made by Mr. Lee of profusion, of extravagant contracts, and the like, that those gentlemen be authorised to submit the accounts, with every allegation of the kind, to the adjustment and determination of gentlemen of ability and character on the spot, and that orders may be given that whatever sum may be found due from the commissioners may by them be instantly paid into the hands of the banker for Congress, and that in like manner said banker may be ordered to pay whatever may be the balance to the person in whose favor the same shall be found. By this means the truth will be demonstrated, and justice done, which is all I have ever wished for.

Having forgot to mention it in its place, I must be permitted to add here, that the first vessel purchased and fitted out by Mr. Hodge was, on the return and imprisonment of Cunningham, detained by order from Court, and a second purchased, in which Cunningham went on his second cruise. The first was put up for sale at Dunkirk, but not disposed of when I left Paris, at least I had not heard of it.

I have the honor to be, With the most respectful attachment, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

P. S. I have mentioned money paid Mons. Dumas, as part of the aggregate sum of 244,285 livres, 13 s., 10 d. There will be found the sum of 4,351 livres, 5 s., 3 d., paid by Messrs. Horneca, Fitzeau & Co., to Mons. Dumas, and for other expenses. I fear on a review, that the brevity I aimed at may cause some mistake; it is therefore proper to observe that but a part of this sum was paid to Mons. Dumas, a part being for other disbursements, independent of which sum the commissioners made other remittances to Mons. Dumas.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev,. I. 139.

COPY OF M. GRAND'S GENERAL ACCOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED AND PAID ON ACCOUNT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DR. MESSRS. FRANKLIN, DEANE, & LEE, *their account with* F. GRAND.

June	1,	1	To Mr. Deane's accepted draft of Mr. Williams, 3d of June.....	15,029 02 05
		2	" Mr. Deane, to an order of Mr. Deane, favor of Monthieu.....	1,200 00 00
		3	" Mr. Deane, of two drafts of Harcourt des Harre, of 6th June. 5,000, 5,016.....	10,016 00 00
		4	" a payment the widow Dque. Morel & Sons, made to Wm. Hodge of 12,000 and charges approved by Mr. Deane.....	12,083 00 00

July	5	To cash to Mr. Deane as per receipt...	2,400 00 00
	6	" " " Monthieu, by order of Mr. Deane.....	11,184 00 00
	7	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's draft 17th June.....	3,000 00 00
	8	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's drafts, favor Holker, for.....	10,000 00 00
	9	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's two drafts 9th inst., 3,000, 1,500	4,500 00 00
	10	" a payment the widow Morel & Sons, Dunkirk, to Hodge, and charges, 19th.....	15,098 12 00
	11	" " " 26th, both approved by Mr. Deane.....	2,606 02 00
	12	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of a draft of Williams's of the 14th.....	1,200 00 00
	13	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of four drafts of Williams's of 22d and 26th inst., 1,200, 2,400, 1,500, 1,842	6,942 00 00
	14	" Messrs. Deane and Lee's drafts of 7th inst. to Mr. Franklin.....	4,800 00 00
	15	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 7th inst. to Holker Son...	10,000 00 00
	16	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's drafts of 26th and 29th, 1,200, 2,847 7 8, 1,742 7.....	5,789 14 08
	17	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's drafts of 28th, 3,000, 1,000	4,000 00 00
Aug. 12,	18	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of 11th inst. to Mr. A. Lee....	2,400 00 00
	19	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of 14th inst. to M. Le Roy du Chaumont.....	2,448 00 00
	20	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's draft of the 9th inst.....	3,000 00 00
	21	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams' draft of the 14th inst. 960, 960	1,920 00 00
	22	" cash to Mr. Deane, 29th inst., as per receipt.....	4,800 00 00
	23	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 25th inst. favor of Sabattier Son.....	5,509 02 00
	24	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 25th inst. favor of Holker Son.....	2,888 13 07
	25	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 28th inst. favor of Latour	1,827 08 00

Aug.	26	To Messrs. Franklin and Deane, their acceptation of Williams's 17th June.....	1,257 06 00
	27	" acceptance of Mr. Deane to the drafts of Thos. Bell, bought, 4,490 11, 1,000.....	5,490 11 00
	28	" acceptance of Mr. Deane to the drafts of Williams of 18th, 19th, and 26th inst.....	9,306 00 00
Sept.	14, 29	" the drafts of S. J. H. Delap of Bordeaux, 30th August, by order of Mr. Deane.....	5,000 00 00
	30	" Mr. Deane's order of 3d inst. favor of Monthieu.....	12,000 00 00
	31	" Mr. Deane's order of 3d inst. favor of Mr. Reed, £25 15 sterling...	538 11 06
	32	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of Williams's drafts, 6th and 9th inst. 641 19, 3,600.....	4,241 19 00
	33	" cash paid Mr. Deane, 16th inst....	4,800 00 00
	34	" Messrs. Deane and Lee's order, 16th inst. favor Reed, for £30 sterling	699 12 00
	35	" Williams's drafts, 2d inst. favor Monthieu, approved by Mr. Deane..	3,791 04 00
	36	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, favor of Latour, Shoemaker.....	1,827 10 00
	37	" order of Mr. Deane, 22d inst. favor Crury, 2,400, 696.....	3,096 00 00
	38	" drafts of S. & J. H. Delaps of Bordeaux, 13th inst. approved by Mr. Deane.....	30,000 00 00
	39	" Mr. Deane's order, favor Mr. Franklin, 25th inst.....	4,001 00 00
	40	" Mr. Deane's acceptation Williams's drafts, 22d August.....	6,192 17 08
	41	" S. J. Delap's drafts, 20th inst. at sight, 6,000, 1,563 10, by order Mr. Deane	7,563 10 00
	42	" Williams's drafts, 28th August, accepted by Mr. Deane.....	3,801 15 00
	43	" H. Johnston's drafts, 16th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane.....	13,342 06 00
	44	" To the drafts of Lamb. Wickes, 14th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane....	6,000 00 00
	45	" the drafts of Williams, 2d inst. approved by Mr. Deane.....	1,200 00 00
	46	" the drafts of Thos. Bell, 17th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane.....	486 00 00
	47	" the drafts of John Williams 8th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane.....	792 18 00

Sept.	48	To Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 3d inst. favor Johnston.....	904 00 00
	49	" cash to Mr. Deane on his receipt..	2,400 00 00
	50	" Mr. Deane's order, favor Merceir, 9th inst.....	1,200 00 00
	51	" cash to Mr. A. Lee on his receipt..	4,800 00 00
	52	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's order, favor Coder, of 14th inst..	73,840 00 00
	53	" Messrs. Deane and Lee's order, 19th inst. favor of Druy.....	600 00 00
	54	" J. Sabattier & Sons draft, 15 Sept. approved by Franklin, Deane and Lee	306,910 18 00
	55	" Lambert Wickes's draft, 14th Sept. accepted by Mr. Deane.....	3,484 18 06
	56	" James Nicholls's draft, 16th Sept. accepted by Mr. Deane.....	4,703 18 00
	57	" Landais of Marseilles, accepted by Mr. Deane.....	3,627 19 00
	58	" Williams's draft of 5th and 7th August, approved by Mr. Deane	25,800 00 00
	59	" Williams's draft 5th September....	480 00 00
	60	" Mr. Franklin's order, 21st inst. favor Caffery.....	2,932 00 00
Nov.	61	" cash paid Mr. A. Lee, the 12th inst.	2,400 00 00
	62	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, of the 15th inst. favor W. F.....	8,000 00 00
	63	" Mr. Deane's order, favor Monthieu.	112,000 00 00
	64	" cash paid Mr. Deane, 20th inst. as per receipt.....	2,700 00 00
	65	" Williams's drafts of 18th and 19th August, accepted by Mr. Deane..	10,000 00 00
	66	" Williams's draft of 5th August, accepted by Mr. Deane..... ...	1,200 00 00
	67	" draft of Segury, Beaujeard Son of St. Malo, 19th October, by Mr. Deane	3,489 11 06
	68	" Mr. Deane's order, 27th inst. favor Cushing, £24 2 3 sterling.....	551 03 00
	69	" Williams's draft 2d September, favor Monthieu, approved by Mr. Deane	7,500 00 00
	70	" drafts of Pellitier du Doyer, favor Mr. Williams, 14th August, by Mr. Deane.....	15,500 00 00
Decem.	71	" cash to Mr. A. Lee.....	2,400 00 00
	72	" Mr. Franklin's order of inst. favor Troyes.....	600 00 00
	73	" cash paid Mr. Deane, 11th inst....	2,400 00 00
	74	" draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 14 Aug. favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane.....	3,000 00 00

Decem.	75	To draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 11th and 27th September, favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane	20,500	00	00
	76	" draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 25th October, favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane.....	8,000	00	00
	77	" draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 11th November, favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane.....	4,000	00	00
	78	" draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 20th December, favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane.....	4,500	00	00
	79	" draft of Pelitier du Doyer of Nantes, favor Gardoqui of Bilboa, 18th October, accepted by Mr. Deane.	6,580	14	00
	80	" draft of J. Williams, 26th and 28th August, accepted by Mr. Deane, 6,500, 2,764 7.....	9,264	07	00
	81	" draft of Pellitier and Doyer of Nantes, 14th September, favor Williams, approved by Deane....	9,799	08	00
	82	" cash paid Mr. A. Lee, 23d November, as per receipt.....	22,519	05	06
	83	" cash paid Mr. Silas Deane, 21st December, as per receipt.....	2,400	00	00
	84	" cash paid Mr. A. Lee, 23d December, as per receipt.....	2,400	00	00
	85	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 25th December, favor de la Plaigne	2,480	00	00
	86	" draft of Coffin of Dunkirk, 12th December, accepted by Mr. Deane.	3,300	00	00
	87	" draft of Messrs. Franklin and Deane, 29th December, order Monthieu.	6,416	00	00
	88	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 29th inst., favor W. J. Franklin..	2,400	00	00
	89	" cash to Boux Neveu, as per receipt, for account, approved by Franklin and Deane.....	480	00	00
	90	" draft Morel & Sons of Dunkirk, 22d December.....	1,008	10	00
	91	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 21st November, favor Bauregard.....	119,061	00	00
	92	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 29th December, favor Monthieu.....	60,000	00	00
	93	" Horneau, Tireau & Co. of Amsterdam, approved by Franklin, Deane & Lee.....	35,027	01	03

Decem.	94	To Horneau, Tireau & Co. of Amsterdam, approved by Franklin, Deane & Lee	9,232	03	00
	95	" " " by Franklin, Deane & Lee for the ship, the Indian	72,000	00	00
	96	" P. Ct. 3,069 2 paid by Franklin, Deane & Lee to Boux of Amsterdam for the Indian	6,649	00	00
	97	" Francis Coffin of Dunkirk, his draft of 19th December, accepted by Mr. Deane	938	02	03
	98	" W. Hodge of Nantes, his draft 20th December, accepted by Mr. Deane	3,000	00	00
	99	" John Hancock's drafts, favor Sundries	17,400	00	00
Jan'y.	100	" Mr. A. Lee's order, favor Byrd, 30 louis d'ors	720	00	00
	101	" Mr. Deane's acceptation of the drafts of T. Thomson, Coffin	68,984	00	00
	102	" cash paid Mr. A. Lee, 11th inst	4,800	00	00
	103	" cash paid Mr. Silas Deane, 13th inst.	4,000	00	00
	104	" J. Williams of Nantes, from 18th September to 10th January, of which 500,000 was approved of by Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, rest by Franklin and Deane	563,097	05	10
	105	" my commission on livres 1,290,275 6 7 at ½ per cent	6,451	00	04
	6	" postage of letters, packets, and other charges on their account	1,998	09	00
			1,962,903	04	01
	7	" balance of the above account of the 15th January, 1778	295,725	03	00
	8	" Arnoux de Saulsaye of the Orient, drafts 6th July, account Indian	5,000	00	00
	9	" E. Haimann's draft, 29th December, accepted by Mr. Deane	2,032	18	04
	10	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 20th January, favor Sabattier & Despres	49,165	17	07
	11	" Borard Brothers of the Orient, their draft, 12th January, accepted by Deane	2,074	17	06
	12	" J. Williams, since 10th January to 20th, on account of the credit given to him of 200,000 by Messrs. Franklin and Deane	30,862	09	09

Jan'y.	13	To Sabattier & Sons' drafts, 8th January, approved by Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee	153,963	17	04
	14	" my commission on 243,100 at ½ per cent.	1,215	10	06
	15	" postage and other charges from 15th January to 24th	52	14	00
	16	" William's draft, 2d Sept. omitted in last account, 2,000 00.....	2,259	17	00
	17	" draft of Samuel Nicholson of Nantes, 8th Nov. 259 17.....			
	18	" Mr. Franklin's order of 29th January, favor Bois Martin	6,353	00	00
	19	" Mr. Franklin's order, 2d February, favor Danets and Hennel	17,404	06	03
	20	" cash to Mr. A. Lee	2,400	00	00
	21	" Mr. Deane's order, February 6, favor Holleville	509	00	00
	22	" Mr. Franklin's same day, favor Franklin, Jr.	4,800	00	00
	23	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's orders, 6th February, favor W. Lee, Iz'd., 48,000 48,000....	96,000	00	00
	24	" Mr. Deane, 12th February	2,500	00	00
	25	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 12th February, favor Captain Courtier	1,433	14	03
	26	" Mr. Franklin a Bill of Exchange on London for 100 sterling, a 31	2,322	00	00
	27	" Mr. Deane's order, 6th February, favor Captain Courtier, £52 10 a 31½.....	1,200	00	00
	28	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 6th of February for 100 louis	2,400	00	00
	29	" Deane's draft of Amsterdam, 8th January	2,400	00	00
	30	" cash to Mr. A. Lee, 16th January as per receipt.....	2,400	00	00
	31	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's orders, 18th Jan. favor Roy de Chaumont	86,000	00	00
	32	" cash received by M. Bourbonnette 5th May last, from Horneca, Fireaux, & Co., Amsterdam ...	4,351	05	03
	33	" Thomas Bell of Nantes, his draft, 6th February, on Mr. Deane...	570	14	00
	34	" cash to Mr. William Lee, February 28th, as per receipt	960	00	00

Jan'y.	35	To Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, March 2d, favor Blunden.....	3,600 00 00
	36	" cash to Mr. A. Lee, March 6th, as per receipt.....	4,800 00 00
	37	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, March 2d, favor Blunden	240 00 00
	38	" cash to Mr. W. Lee, March 10th, as per receipt.....	1,656 00 00
	39	" J. Hancock's draft, 14th Sept. 30 days, order the Chev. Desbeusson	4,712 00 00
	40	" cash paid Bondel the Printer....	246 00 00
	41	" Horneca, Fireaux, & Co. draft 26th January, for their remittance 4,000 Platina.....	20,213 17 06
	42	" Sam. Wharton of London, 17th Feb. approved by Mr. Deane..	19,520 14 00
	43	" Sam. Darcy of Bordeaux, 21st December, on S. Deane.....	4,800 00 00
	44	" Silas Deane's assignment 16th March, to James Bornel.....	250 00 00
	—	" Mr. Silas Deane's assignment, 17th March, to B. Nicholson..	240 00 00
	45	" cash paid Mr. W. Lee 16th March, as per receipt.....	955 00 00
	46	" cash paid Mr. W. Lee, 16th March, as per receipt.... ...	3,600 00 00
	47	" cash paid Silas Deane 17th March, as per receipt.....	4,800 00 00
	48	" Leguy, Beauregard, Sons & Co. of Marlo, draft 6th of March on Silas Deane.....	523 00 00
	49	" cash paid Silas Deane March 24, as per receipt.....	2,400 00 00
	50	" an assignment March 25th, favor W. J. Franklin.....	4,800 00 00
	51	" J. Williams's drafts since last account to this day 28th March	178,273 03 09
	52 53	To drafts by J. Hancock on Commissioners.....	4,767 00 00
	54	To assignment of Mr. S. Deane 25th March, to Johnson, 27 All 800,600.....	1,400 00 00
		" my commission on livres 490,756 15 6 at ½ per cent.....	2,453 00 00
		" postage of letters, packets, and other charges.....	441 10 00
			1,043,738 17 00
		On which sum I have received	750,000 00 00
			293,738 17 00

This account amounts to the sum of two hundred ninety-three thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight livres seventeen sous, which is the balance due to Ferdinand Grand this day, 27th March, 1778. Errors excepted.

CREDITS, 1777.

By balance settled 10th June		664,178 1 1
" cash 5th July		500,000 0 0
" a remittance of S. & J. Hans Delap, account M. Crury		2,400 0 0
" cash the 10th October		500,000 0 0
" cash 6th November from Lavabre & Doernir Co.		600 0 0

Messrs. FRANKLIN, DEANE & Co., *their account with* F. GRAND of Paris.

DR.				CR.
Jan'y.	1	By cash from those gentlemen per receipt		500,000 0 0
Feb'ry.	2	To cash paid to L. Mutter of Nantes	168 00 0	
	3	" M. Boux for his quarter.	625 03 0	
	4	" M. Chaumont Mr. Deane's bills	180,000 00 0	
March.	5	" Th. Hyson of Dunkirk, his draft	15,169 11 0	
	6	" cash to Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	7,044 11 0	
April.	7	" Mr. Deane's draft 9th April, on sight	9,707 16 5	
	8	" cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	12,075 16 0	
	9	" Horneau Fireaux his drafts (April)	300,000 00 0	
	10	" my remittance B, 1000 at 53½ (April)	2,242 19 9	
	11	" cash to Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	12,075 16 0	
	12	" Mr. Deane's order favor M. Chaumont	8,729 15 0	
	13	" my commission on 559,-848	2,795 04 0	
	14	" postage of letters	227 14 0	
	15	Balance in my favor carried to new account		62,071 8 5
		livres	562,071 08 5	562,071 8 5
April.		To the above balance.	62,071 08 5	
		By cash from the above gentlemen		500,000 0 0
	16	To cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	9,377 15 3	

May.	17	To cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	8,093 11 3	
	18	" their order the 7th, favor Monthieu	220,000 00 0	
	19	" their order the 7th, favor Monthieu	69,455 00 0	
	20	" cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	264 14 0	
June.	21	" cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	2,506 12 6	
	22	" their order favor Sabattier	10,000 00 0	
	23	" Mr. Ross, his draft May 17 at 90	450,000 00 0	
		By cash from these gentlemen		1,000,000 0 0
		By discount for two months five days on 450,000		3,250 0 0
		To my commission on 1,438,000	7,190 00 0	
		" postage	112 15 0	
		By balance due by those gentlemen	664,178 01 1	
			1,503,250 00 0	1,503,250 0 0

Errors excepted.

To Ross by Mr. Grand 450,000
" " Jonathan Williams 20,000
470,000

Extract from the Banker Grand's Account of Money paid to Mr. Hodge.

1777

March	18	Pour autant payé à M. Hodge à Dunkerque sur le credit l 24m que je lui avois atable chez St. Dque. Morel et Fils et d'Ordre de M. Deane avec fraite	7,044 11 0
April	16	" autant payés à M. Hodge à Dunkerque avec fraite	12,075 16 0
	26	" autant payés à M. Hodge à Dunkerque avec fraite	23,284 18 3
	28	" ci qui à été payé à M. Wm. Hodge à Dunkerque, sur le crédit qui je lui avois établé chez Ste. Dque. Morel et Fils, cet article ainsi que les suivants semblables sont de l'ordre de M. Deane	9,377 15 3
Mai	6	" " " " "	8,093 11 3

Mai	17	Pour autant payé à M. Hodge à Dunkerque.	264 14 0	
Juin	2	" " " " "	2,508 12 6	
June	4	To a payment the widow Dque. Morel & Sons made to Wm. Hodge of 12,000 and charges, approved by Mr. Deane.	12,083 00 0	
	10	" " made the 19th to " and charges 15,000	15,098 12 0	
		" " both approved by Mr. Deane, 26th, 2,586	2,606 02 0	
			92,441 06 3	

A General State of the Account Between the Commissioners at Paris from the United States of North America, and Mons. Grand, Banker, Showing what Public Moneys Passed Through Mr. Deane's and the Other Commissioners' Hands, Referred to in Mr. Deane's Letter to Congress.

Total amount of moneys received by the Commissioners to the time of Mr. Deane's leaving Paris		3,753,250 00 00
The balance due to M. Grand the 27th March last, amounted to.....		293,738 17 00
Total amount of expenditures in dollars, 809,-337⅜; in livres		4,046,988 17 00
The same particularized—		
To Monsieur Chaumont for 2,000 barrels powder for brass cannon for the frigate at Nantes, &c., &c		277,177 00 00
" Captain Hyson for the purchase of a lugger for a packet.....		15,169 11 00
" Mr. Hodge, who purchased successively two cutters at Dunkirk, &c., paid the expenses of Conyngham's imprisonment, &c., &c.....		92,729 10 03
" Hornica, Fitzeau & Co., at Amsterdam, for the building a large ship of war, and M. Buoy's expenses.....	307,274 12 06	
" purchase cordage, &c., for said ship.....	72,000 00 00	
" pay for goods purchased there by Merkle, according to his contract with Congress.....	44,259 04 03	
" paid for for gun-locks, &c., sent to Nantes to Mr. Williams, as was also the goods bought by Merkle	20,213 17 06	

To paid for for moneys paid out by them to Monsieur Dumas and other expenses at Amsterdam	4,351 05 03		
Total paid the house of Hornica, Fitzeaus & Co.		448,098 19 06	
" paid M. M. Monthieu for his magazine at Nantes	220,000 00 00		
" cash advanced by him for goods bought at Nantes	69,455 02 06		
" cash advanced by him for goods bought at Nantes	11,184 00 00		
" fusees shipped at Marseilles which arrived at Portsmouth	12,000 00 00		
" freight due him	120,000 00 00		
" so much in part of his contract for clothing	60,000 00 00		
		484,569 02 06	
" cash paid Mr. Ross to enable him to pay for goods purchased by him agreeable to his contract with Congress		450,000 00 00	
" cash paid Sabbatier, Desprez & Co., and Mr. Holker, for 15,000 suits of clothes, &c.		538,438 07 11	
" cash paid Desgray, Beaugeard, Fils & Co. for 100 tons of saltpetre purchased at 11s. the pound, or 5½d. sterling		119,061 00 00	
" Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Izard for their expenses		96,000 00 00	
" Monsieur Coder for clothing		73,840 00 00	
" Mr. Jonathan Williams at various times		981,901 10 04	
" cash paid Monsieur Monthieu on account		6,416 00 00	
" Dorets Hornet for fusees delivered at Nantes		17,404 06 03	
" cash to the orders of Captains Thomson and Henman for refitting and equipping their ships at L'Orient		70,092 17 08	
" cash paid at L'Orient for carriages and other articles for the ship building at Amsterdam. N. B. She was to have been brought to L'Orient to be armed.		5,000 00 00	
" orders of Mr. Hancock paid		35,909 00 00	
" paid Messrs. Delaps for sundry supplies and disbursements to the Lexington and other ships		42,563 13 10	
" amount of orders paid for the refitting of the Lexington, the Reprisal, and other Continental ships, the orders drawn by Captain Wicks, by Captain Johnson, by Captain Nicholson, and others, as may be seen in M. Grand's account, D. D.		48,262 03 10	

To amount of what the Commissioners paid for their private expenses, of what they paid for expresses, for shoes and other articles bought at Paris and shipped from Nantes, with other disbursements, as may be seen at large in M. Grand's account	244,285	13 11
livres	4,046,988	17 00

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 105.

Mr. Deane's Assumed Contract with M. Beaumarchais.

Memoire for Clothing.

12,500 aunes of blue cloth to cost nearly 8 livres per aune; 2.500 aunes of cloth of the following colors for lapels or facings, viz: 500 scarlet, 500 green, 500 crimson, 500 buff or white, 500 yellow or orange; 25,000 aunes of shaloons for lining the clothes, of the value of about 1 livre per aune of blue color; 7,000 aunes of linen for lining breeches, and other use in making up the clothes, of the value of 1 livre 10 sous per aune; 2,000 pounds sewing thread for making up the clothes of a blue color; 100 pounds blue sewing silk; 10,000 dozen of coat metal buttons, plain white; 10,000 dozen vest or small buttons, plain; 30,000 aunes of linen for shirts, at about 2 livres per aune; 5,000 blankets; 10,000 pair stockings, white woollen; 4,000 aunes of blue cloth of better quality, for officers, to cost about 12 livres per aune; 1,000 aunes for facing or lapels of scarlet, of green, of crimson, of buff or white, of orange or yellow, of each an equal quantity; 4,000 aunes of blue shaloon for lining the above, of about 2 livres per aune value; 1,000 dozen of plain white metal coat buttons; 2,000 dozen plain white metal vest buttons or small; 3,000 aunes of linen for officers' shirts of 2 livres 10 sous or 3 livres per aune; 500 pounds weight sewing thread for making up coarse shirts.

The above estimate is for 5,000 men to be clothed in blue, the facings to be various in the different battalions,

consequently 30,000 men will take six times the quantity, in the whole of each particular article above mentioned, which follows in detail.

N. B. It is unnecessary to repeat here the particulars of each color, as they run in the same style and quantity, only varying the colors, and each part for 5,000 men is put up distinct.

Other Stores.

24,000 aunes of coarse shagg cloth, of woollen of 5¼ wide, for melas or Indian stockings, so called, to cost 2 10 or 3 livres per aune; of this quality the colors must be blue, scarlet, and green, an equal quantity of each; also, 30,000 woollen caps of the same color as the clothes, in equal quantities, viz: 5,000 of blue, 5,000 scarlet, 5,000 green, 5,000 brown or gray, and 10,000 black, the latter to go with the pale blue and gray clothing or uniform; also, 100 needles of the coarse or common kind, and 100 small awls for the soldiers to mend their clothes with; also, 60,000 colored handkerchiefs, one for the neck, a custom among American soldiers, and one for the pocket; also, 30,000 pair of cheap shoe and knee buckles; 30,000 large cutteau knives; 600 boxes of tin plates; 200 brass four-pounders; 88,315 balls; 27 nine-inch brass mortars; 12,326 bombs; 30,000 fusils; 60,000 gun locks; 6,000,000 of flints; 200 or 100 tons lead; 200 tons of powder; 10,000 pair hose for officers; 10,000 additional blankets; 10,000 additional silk handkerchiefs, and 30,000 linen handkerchiefs with several smaller articles, such as buttons, buckles, knives, &c., &c.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 115.

M. Beaumarchais's Contract with Monthieu.

We the Subscribers, John Joseph Monthieu and Roderique Hortalez & Co., Mr. Silas Deane being present, and approving of the following settlement for the United Colonies, have agreed as follows, viz —

That John Joseph Monthieu promises to furnish for the thirteen United Colonies of North America, a number of vessels armed for war and loaded with stores and goods to the amount of sixteen hundred tons, sufficient to carry over to some of the ports of North America belonging to the thirteen United States, all the stores and goods of which the amount fixed and signed by us is valued to the weight and number of about sixteen hundred tons above mentioned. It is agreed that he shall be paid for sixteen hundred tons, the whole contents of the ships, at the rate of two hundred livres per ton; the said Monthieu further engages to have the said ships ready to sail from the ports of Havre, Nantes, and Marseilles, to the order of Messrs. Roderique Hortalez and Co., viz., the ship which is to carry over the passengers mentioned in the agreement to sail from Havre, and that sailing from Nantes shall be ready in the month of November, and the others in December next, on the condition that the half of the payment for the above said freight at the rate of two hundred livres for each ton to go over to America and come back to France, the ships being likewise loaded in their return for the account of the thirteen United Colonies, and of Messrs. Roderique Hortalez & Co., who are accountable for the same, will be made directly in ready money, bills of exchange, or any other notes of hand negotiable,and Messrs. Hortalez & Co. will engage themselves to pay me the same—the other half part of the agreed bargain between us at the time when these ships will sail; agreeing besides that it will be paid to me five hundred livres for the passage of every officer or gentleman not belonging to the ship, two hundred and fifty livres for each soldier and servant, and one hundred and fifty for each seaman passenger. It has been positively settled between us that all the risks of sea and the capture of the said ships are entirely on the account of the Congress of the United Colonies, and these vessels shall be paid to me at the rate on which each of these vessels will be estimated upon the bargain which has been made by me—engag-

ing to give to Messrs. Hortalez & Co. before the sailing of these vessels from any of the ports above mentioned, the certificates containing the price of the purchase; and last, it is agreed that if the Americans detain these ships, or some of them, more than two months in their ports without loading them for their return to France, all the expenses, wages, and appurtenances from the day of the arrival of these ships in the ports of North America till their departure from these same ports, will be on their account (two months excepted), and shall be paid by them or by Messrs. Roderique Hortalez & Co. in their own name, and answering for the Congress of the United Colonies. We agree to the above said conditions, and we promise to fulfil exactly all those which concerns us, in faith of what we have signed this writing the 15th of October, 1776.

RODERIQUE HORTALEZ & CO.

MONTHIEU.

SILAS DEANE,

Agent for the thirteen United States of North America.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 115.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. ARTHUR LEE'S LETTER OF JUNE 1st, 1778.

Mr. Lee, in his letter of the 1st of June, on which I have made observations, having insinuated many things to the disadvantage of Doctor Franklin's character, as well as to that of Mons. Chaumont and my own; and Mr. Izard, in those letters, the extracts from which I was favored with by order of Congress, having gone even beyond Mr. Lee; and since in his letter of the 28th of June last, speaking of Doctor Franklin and myself, he says:

"There is very little reason to think that any objections, however well founded, would have made any impression on the interested views of one, or the haughtiness and self-sufficiency of the other."

Afterwards, in the same letter, speaking of Doctor Franklin, he says :

"His abilities are great and his reputation high ; removed as he is to so considerable a distance from the observation of his constituents, if he is not guided by principles of virtue and honor, those abilities and that reputation may produce the most mischievous effects. In my conscience I declare to you, that I believe him under no such internal restraints, and God knows that I speak the real unprejudiced sentiments of my heart."

Gratitude as well as justice to that truly great man, to whose friendship and counsel I owe much, oblige me to say on this occasion that I not only believe, but know, that this is, to say no more of it, directly the reverse of the character which Dr. Franklin has ever sustained, and which he now most eminently supports. It gives me pleasure to reflect on the honors and respect universally paid him by all orders of people in France, and never did I enjoy greater satisfaction than in being the spectator of the public honors often paid him. A celebrated cause being to be heard before the Parliament of Paris, and the house, and streets leading to it, crowded with people, on the appearance of Doctor Franklin, way was made him in the most respectful manner, and he passed through the crowd to the seat reserved for him, amid the acclamations of the people, an honor seldom paid to their first princes of the blood. When he attended the operas and plays, similar honors were paid him, and I confess I felt a joy and pride, which were pure and honest, though not disinterested ; for I considered it an honor to be known to be an American and his friend. What were the sensations of the writers of these letters on such occasions I leave their letters and conduct towards him to speak ; and I cannot now express the indignation and grief I feel at finding such a character represented as the worst that human depravity is capable of exhibiting, and that such a representation should be made by an American in a public character.

In the course of my narrative I mentioned Mr. Williams's accounts as being finally settled. I drew my conclusion from his letter to me of the 22d of July last, read in Congress. I find the accounts are not finally closed, though Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams have ordered him the payment. Mr. Williams informs me he has written to Congress and sent his accounts ; the accounts themselves will show that I have not, nor ever had, any private or personal interest in his transactions ; at the same time I beg leave to interest myself in what affects this gentleman, because I think I know him to have been a most faithful and useful servant of the public, and every way deserving of the character given him by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams ; and as Dr. Franklin, from being his uncle, feels a delicacy in writing so fully about him, I therefore pray that this gentleman's accounts may be put into a train for being closed.

I recollect that Mr. Lee has mentioned Count Lauragais in his correspondence with Mons. Beaumarchais, and am informed that this gentleman has in his letters been referred to. Count Lauragais is a nobleman, who was born to an immense fortune, the chief of which he has long since dissipated in a wild and I may say in such an eccentric course of life, as hardly has a parallel in France. He has set up at times for a philosopher, a wit, a poet ; then as suddenly flew off, and engaged in building, planting, or politics ; he was one month for engaging in trade, the next a country gentleman on his farm, the third blazing in the beau-monde at Paris ; and France being insufficient to afford a variety of scenes suited to equal the restlessness of his genius, he has constantly been shifting them from Paris to London, and from London to Paris. In London he set up for a patriot, and engaged seriously in the disputes and parties of the day, and what was very diverting, sat down for a few weeks to study the laws of England in order to confute Blackstone. His rank, to which his birth entitles him, gives him admittance to court, and the extravagancy of his wit and humor

serves to divert and please men in high office, and he consequently at times fancies himself in their secrets. This gentleman knew Mr. Lee in London before I arrived in France, and was afterwards often with him at Paris. His character was given me soon after my arrival, and I was put on my guard and warned by the minister, not that he supposed him to have designs unfriendly either to France or America, but on account of his imprudence, and of his being frequently in London, and with those in the opposition in England, of whom the Court of France were more jealous, and against whom they were equally on their guard, as with the British ministry themselves. As this nobleman's name may be made use of, I cannot dispense with touching lightly on the outlines of a character extremely well known in France and England, and to which some gentlemen in America are no strangers.

I have mentioned the first and principal contract having been made for clothing, with Mr. Holker, now agent for France in America. This gentleman was then one of the inspectors general of the manufactures of France, and knowing perfectly well the price and quality of cloth in every part of the kingdom, he undertook, at the request of our mutual friend, Mons. Chaumont, to put us in the way of being supplied at the cheapest rates, and, by joining himself in the written contract, induced his friends, Messrs. Sabbatier and Desprez, to engage, which they did ; they purchased the cloth at the manufactories, at the first cost, procured it to be made up at the cheapest rate, and the clothes to be transported to Nantes, charging only the prime cost on everything, and two per cent commissions for their trouble. Mr. Holker, after having engaged these men, whose house is a capital one in Paris, and who, from their having for some time supplied a great part of the clothes to the armies of France, were well acquainted with business of that kind, took no farther part in the affair but that of examining the work and accounts, to see that every thing was performed in

the best and cheapest manner. In this I assisted him. I went with him to the workmen, and examined the cloth, the fashion and the economy practised in the work, from which I will venture to assert that clothes of equal goodness could not be made cheaper, if so cheap by any other method in France.

Mr. Holker and the other gentlemen, as I have already observed, saw Mr. Arthur Lee several times on the subject, until they became so disgusted with a man who found fault with everything, without stepping out of his door to examine anything, that they declined having anything further to say to him. When their accounts were ready to be settled, I examined them, struck the balance, and Mr. Arthur Lee joined with Dr. Franklin and myself in signing draughts on Mr. Grand for the money. The bills were drawn in favor of Messrs. Sabbatier and Desprez solely, Mr. Holker taking no share in the commissions, but generously gave in the time he had spent in the affair, though it had been considerable. This gentleman is now in Philadelphia, and if necessary may be applied to respecting what I have said on this subject; his character, as well as that of his worthy father, is well known in France, where they are jointly inspectors of the manufactures of that kingdom, and on every occasion they exerted themselves to serve this country, a testimony due to them from me when I am called on to mention them publicly. The instances they gave me personally of the most disinterested friendship and attachment I shall never forget.

I can but return to Mr. Williams. This gentleman, after stating all his accounts in the fairest and most explicit order, attended near ten weeks at Passy for a settlement. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, as has before been related, so far approved of them as to order his balance, or nearly the whole of it, to be paid him, and gave him a letter certifying him of their full persuasion of his ability and integrity, and that he had done good services; yet such was the disposition of Mr. Lee towards him, that he could by no means get them past. Impa-

tient and wearied out with the captious, insulting manner in which he was treated by Mr. Lee, and which nothing but his official character protected him in, Mr. Williams engaged a gentleman from Boston, Mr. Cutler, to copy off all his accounts, and compare them with the original vouchers, and to make a voyage to America, to lay them before Congress. This gentleman arrived a few days since, and having made the voyage and journey on this purpose only, I take the liberty to entreat Congress in behalf of my absent friend and their faithful servant, that those accounts may be examined, that Mr. Cutler may be heard, if necessary, to explain them, and Mr. Williams relieved from the embarrassments of Mr. Lee, whose disposition does not appear to be mended since I left Paris, but, if possible, greatly increased for dispute, and for the most vexatious altercation.

Could I take any pleasure on so disagreeable a subject, and one which throws the affairs as well as reputation of these States into confusion and disgrace, it would be to find that the universal testimony of all who know the situation of our affairs in France confirms what I have in duty and justice to these States been obliged to lay before Congress. Mr. Lee's nephew, a son of the honorable Richard Henry Lee, is in the house of Mons. Schweighauser, at Nantes, as a clerk, or as a partner; I am informed the latter. Commercial affairs and the disposition of prizes are put into the care of this house, while a near connexion of M. Schweighauser, at Guernsey or Jersey, is employing himself in sending out cruisers on our commerce. I know nothing of M. Schweighauser except by reports, those having been in his favor as a good merchant; but this circumstance, added to some others which Mr. Cutler informs me of, has given cause for the greatest uneasiness and distrust, which added to the difficulties met with at Paris from Mr. Arthur Lee, prevents anything from being done to effect, if really anything at all, toward sending out supplies to these States. SILAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Oct. 12th, 1778.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 148.

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Wednesday, October 14, 1778. A letter of the 12th from Mr. S. Deane was read, accompanied with his remarks on the extracts from the letters of Mr. Izard, and also with his remarks on the extracts from the letters of Mr. A. Lee, with which Mr. Deane was furnished.

Ordered, That a copy of the remarks on the extracts of Mr. Izard's letters be made out and transmitted to Mr. Izard, and that Mr. President be furnished with a duplicate thereof.

Ordered, That a copy of the remarks on the extracts of Mr. Izard's and Mr. Lee's letters be made out and transmitted to Mr. Lee.

Ordered, That Monday next be assigned for the further examination of Mr. W. Carmichael, and that Mr. Carmichael be directed to attend on that day.

Journals of Congress.

To Barnabas Deane.

Phil. 20th Oct., 1778.

Dear Brother,—I received yours of the 12th, and have only time to tell you that to my extreme mortification I have not as yet received my Horses & Carriages; I sent (after exhausting my Patience) an express after them, and expect them here this week. As to my house, &c., I can take no man's Note whilst our Currency is in its present rapid declension; besides, what do I sell it for, but to make use of the money in France? Mr. Joseph Webb never hinted at any thing of the kind to me, and, as it is a delicate subject, you must not hint it to him, but leave him to speak out on the subject directly to me; in the meantime you can, in a private way, try what it will go at. I expect to go Eastward before I embark; you shall have my opinion of the Currency, &c., in my next. I am now in the greatest haste, having wrote a very long political Letter to

Governor Trumbull, which if he do not read before the Assembly, get Mr. Hosmer, Col. Chester & others to ask him for a sight of it; it may do service. I am, my Dear Brother, ever

Yours, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

My Letter to the Governor will tell what I think of the Currency & of every thing else.

To BARNABAS DEANE, Esq^r, Merchant, Wethersfield, Conn.

Thomas Mss.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 1st November, 1778.

SIR,—I think it unnecessary to make an apology for sending you the inclosed estimates and reflections made on two of the most important and interesting subjects, and for desiring the same may be communicated to Congress. Should that honorable body approve of any or all of them, I shall be very happy; and if they should not, they will excuse me for having given them this trouble, when they reflect that the desire of throwing some light on these subjects has been my sole motive.

The providing for the redemption of our money and the establishment of a marine are objects which, in my view, far exceed in the magnitude and extent of their importance any that are at present under public consideration; they greatly depend on each other, and permit me to say, all our future operations in a great degree depend on them. We cannot pay the interest of any considerable loan without commerce, which cannot be revived effectually without a marine force of our own, which may, I am confident, be formed on the enclosed plan, and be ready in a short space of time to act with vigor. Great Britain has long had the empire of the ocean, and in consequence the whole world has been her tributary; her own bad policy and

the present war will deprive her of that empire; at this important crisis it depends on the measures taken by the United States, whether they shall succeed Great Britain or not in this extensive dominion. Reason, observation, and experience authorise me to say, there is not in the world any power so capable of it; and as the United States can never aim at foreign conquests, but simply to guard their own coasts, and to protect the commerce of their subjects, their superiority at sea can never give just cause of jealousy or offence to any other nation. I am confident that a fleet of forty sail, to consist of twenty such large ships as I have described, and twenty frigates, will be more than equal to this purpose; and such a fleet may be got to sea in the course of the coming year, if the materials wanted from Europe can be procured, which, if immediately applied for, I have not the least doubt of.

I have the honor to remain, with much respect, Sir,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

To His Excellency John Laurens.

P.S. I am still without the honor of any answer to my letter of the 7th ult.

November 13th.

After writing the above, my apprehension lest I should be thought any way out of the usual course in communicating my sentiments to Congress made me omit sending it to you with the inclosed, but the alarming intelligence which I received but a day or two since of the sentiments of my countrymen in different parts, on the present situation of the credit of our money, the state of our finances and resources, and of the temper and disposition prevailing in consequence, has made me waive every personal consideration, and communicate this with the inclosed to Congress, and I shall count it one of the happiest occurrences of my life, if anything in my power will help to prevent that total loss of public as well as private credit, which I am sorry to find

begins to be almost universally apprehended; and I fear appearances at this time are in support of such apprehensions, which, though at bottom they may be ill founded, yet, if once generally prevailing, will produce consequences easily foreseen. I beg leave to refer to Colonel Duer for the substance of the intelligence I refer to, having communicated the letters I have received to him, for as they contain many things merely personal, I could not lay them at large before Congress.

SILAS DEANE.

Plan for sinking fifty-three millions of dollars of the Continental Currency, and to establish a Bank of one million and a half sterling, or $6,666,666 2-3 *in Europe, for the use of the States of America, at the expense of forty millions of dollars in specie only, or of Bills upon Europe equivalent.*

1st. Let a loan be obtained of twenty-five millions of dollars on account of the United States; the interest and necessary charges will probably amount to, and will not exceed, six per cent per annum.

2dly. Let a fund be established of two millions and a half annually, clear of all charges of collecting and remittances, out of which let the interest of the loan be paid, and the surplus unalienably appropriated as a sinking fund to discharge the principal; the annual interest of twenty-five million dollars at six per cent. will be 1,500,000 dollars, the sinking fund one million.

3dly. The calculation which follows demonstrates that this fund of two millions and a half of dollars will, in sixteen years, pay off the principal and interest of the twenty-five millions borrowed, and leave a surplus of $673,103 in the hands of the States, which may be supposed equivalent to the charge of managing the money, and paying the loan in Europe.

4thly. A fund of two millions and a half for sixteen years amounts to forty millions, but twenty-five millions at six per cent simple interest will in that time amount to forty-nine millions, supposing the interest annually

paid; hence it is evident that a sinking fund of one million, operating on such a loan of twenty-five millions, will make a saving of nine millions of dollars to the States out of what will otherwise be paid on the same capital, on the plan of borrowing practices in our, and, indeed, in most other loan offices; or, in other words, would reduce the interest from six to little more than three and a half per cent, which is demonstrated in the following calculations:

5thly. Twenty-five millions of dollars may be computed in value equal to £5,625,000 sterling. Of this, let one million and a half, or £1,625,000 sterling be applied to the payment of debts contracted in Europe—contracted by the commissioners, for the discharge of which no particular mode has been stipulated and agreed upon, and for the establishing a bank or fund for other uses and benefit of the United States.

6thly. As the sum of £125,000 sterling will be equal to the public debts already contracted in Europe, except those to the Farmers-General and the house of Rodrique Hortalez & Co., there will remain agreeable to the plan, one million and a half sterling, or $6,666,666 2-3 in the Congress' Bank in Europe, and four millions sterling, or $17,777,777 2-3, for the purpose of sinking the sum of fifty-three millions proposed.

7thly. The present rate of exchange is from five to six for one; it must happen that as bills are brought to market to a greater amount they will fall, but if it be considered that the ordinary demand of these States on Europe for goods exceeded four millions sterling annually in times of peace, that the demand at present and for two or three years to come, even if peace should take place immediately, must exceed the former usual demand; that though the cancelling and sinking of fifty-three millions of dollars will tend to appreciate the remainder in circulation, yet as there will still remain in circulation a greater nominal sum than the commerce of these States call for, the appreciation will not be repaid; and, if it be further considered that the

merchants in the United States are at present destitute of their usual means of remittance, having neither ships, specie, nor produce on hand, I say under these considerations, it is improbable, if not impossible, consistent with the interest of individuals, that bills drawn on Europe for the sum of four millions sterling should be under three for one on an average.

8thly. Four millions sterling, or $17,777,777 2-3, at three for one, will amount to $53,333,333 here. Allowing $333,333 for the charge of drawing the bills, for other expenses and deficiencies unforeseen, and there will be, agreeable to the proposals in the plan, fifty-three millions of dollars of the Continental currency paid off by the sales of those bills.

The benefits resulting from this plan, if realized, are numerous, indisputable, and obvious. As the sum proposed to be drawn for does not exceed the ordinary amount of importation before the war, it cannot be presumed that this plan can produce any ill effects on commerce, especially if the Congress should think it wise and prudent to drop the merchants themselves, and depend on individuals for supplies. The capital difficulty is to obtain the loan. On this, as well as on the preceding plan, I will make a few observations after the following calculations already referred to :

First Calculation.

YEARS.	PRODUCE OF THE SINKING FUND AT THE END OF EVERY YEAR.	TOTAL OF THE DEBTS PAID AT THE END OF EVERY YEAR.	EXPLANATION.
1	1,000,000 60,000	1,000,000	The first column marks the years; the second the produce or amount of the sinking fund at the end of each year; the third shows how large a part of the capital has been paid off at the end of each year. The sum in the second column is found by adding to it annually the interest of that part of the capital paid off the preceding year, and the sum in the third by adding yearly the payments.
2	1,060,000 63,600	2,060,000	
3	1,123,600 67,416	3,103,600	
4	1,191,016 71,461	4,374,616	
5	1,262,477 75,788	5,637,093	
6	1,338,265 80,296	6,975,358	
7	1,418,561 85,113	8,393,919	
8	1,503,674 90,220	9,897,593	
9	1,593,894 95,633	11,491,487	
10	1,689,527 101,372	13,181,014	
11	1,790,899 107,454	14,971,913	
12	1,898,353 113,901	16,870,266	
13	2,012,254 120,735	18,882,520	
14	2,132,989 127,979	21,015,509	
15	2,260,968 135,658	23,276,477	
16	2,396,626	25,673,103	
	Principal Loan.	25,000,000	
	Surplus.	673,103	

SECOND CALCULATION.

$2,500,000 annually collected and paid for sixteen years, amount to (the whole sum paid).....	40,000,000
But the surplus of $673,103 deducted, leaves $39,326,897, the net sum applied to sink a principal of $25,000,000, and the interest for sixteen years	673,103
	39,326,897

The annual interest of $25,000,000 at six per cent is 1,500,000, which at simple interest in sixteen years is 24,000,000.....	24,000,000
Add the principal.....	25,000,000
	49,000,000
Bring down.....	39,326,897
Surplus.....	9,673,103

By these calculations it is clearly demonstrated—First, that a certain net annual revenue of two millions and a half of dollars is sufficient for sinking the loan of 25,000,000 in sixteen years, and to leave a surplus of $673,103, after discharging both principal and interest. In the second place, that by this plan the public will save the sum of $9,673,103 more than if the same sum is borrowed in the usual way of simple interest; or, in other words, the money on this plan will be borrowed at 3½ per cent interest nearest, a sum well deserving the attention of the public at this and at every other time, and it is for that purpose the foregoing plan and calculations are submitted.

The only difficulties that can possibly occur in the carrying this plan and every part of it into execution are in the establishing such a fund as will be certain for raising the two millions and a half of dollars annually, and in the next place in procuring the loan. The first may be obviated with greater ease and certainty than the second. It cannot in justice be concealed that the loan cannot be obtained with the same ease now as it might have been six or seven months past; nor that the longer it is delayed, the greater the difficulty will be. It is, however, attainable if applied for in season,

and in a proper manner. It is but too probable that if delayed many months longer, it will not be obtained on any terms whatever. The war now kindling in Europe will probably in the course of another year become general, the consequence of which will be that the emperor of Germany, the empress of Russia, and some other powers, the two former in particular, who have improved the late peace to regulate their finances, and to reduce and pay off their foreign debts, will on this change of affairs, become borrowers afresh; in a word, there will be in Europe seven or eight or more powers under the necessity of borrowing, and not more than two or three at the most in a situation to lend, and when so many demands are made for money, it will be difficult to have ours preferred. To obtain it, therefore, requires immediate application, interest and address; which thoughts with the above plan are respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

SILAS DEANE.

Proposals for equipping such a fleet as will be sufficient to defend the coasts and commerce of the United States against any force which Great Britain will be able to send to America.

It is necessary to premise that the obtaining a loan and setting on foot a naval force are so connected with, and dependent on each other; and so many important consequences depend on both, that I have preferred placing one directly after the other, that my ideas on these great subjects may be perceived at one view, rather than the placing them in any manner separate or disjointed from each other. Without a naval force sufficient to protect in some degree our commerce as it revives, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to pay either the principal or interest of the money we may borrow; and without some probably certain prospect of doing this, it would hardly be honest to borrow at all. I have only to add that the following calculations are not founded on light and uncertain estimates, but on

the most certain knowledge of the quantity of each of those articles necessary for the purpose. The prices are fixed at what they were last season in Sweden, and in the north of Europe; what I have ventured to say respecting ships of a new construction carrying forty-two to forty-eight cannon, being equal to sixty-four and even seventy-four line-of-battle ships, I am convinced of the truth of, not merely from my own observation and reasoning on the subject, but from the opportunities I have had of conversing with some of the most able and experienced constructors and commanders of ships in Europe, as well as in America. France, as well as England, has already several ships of such a plan on the stocks, which is a full proof in what light they view this plan of building; but, fortunately for these States, their old prejudices, as well as the opposition of commanders of large ships, and a great number of men, to the changing them for ships of a less rate and fewer men, as well as of less pomp and appearance, will in a great measure prevent either of those nations from much immediate success in this plan for an improvement or reform.

1st. A fleet consisting of twenty such ships as mentioned above, joined by twenty frigates from twenty-four to thirty-six guns, will be sufficient to guard this coast against any naval force, which Great Britain or any other maritime power can spare to send against us. An American fleet opposing a foreign one on this coast will always have many very decisive circumstances in their favor, which are obvious at first view, particularly that of clean ships and healthy men against foul ships and sickly men, or fatigued by a long voyage, and that of being able with ships of the proposed construction to enter harbors in case of storm, or other accident, which larger ships cannot.

2dly. The twenty large ships and ten or a less number of the frigates may be put on the stocks and built in America; and though the present price of labor is dear, yet were the undertakers to be paid in sterling

bills, or in specie, the hulls or bodies of the ships may perhaps be had nearly at the same price as before the war; but suppose they cost more, yet if every other article be procured from Europe, at the first cost and common charges, the ships complete will not amount to much more than such ships usually cost before the war in America, probably not so much.

3dly. Suppose also that eight of the frigates be built in America, and twelve purchased in Europe, to transport the materials from thence for the rest. In the first place, let a calculation be made what all these materials, allowing a large proportion, will amount to, and also for the purchase of the twelve frigates, or ships for frigates, which are to transport those materials over to America.

CALCULATION.

	Livres.
160,000 aulms of sailcloth	240,000
500,000 cwt. of anchors	125,000
3,200,000 cwt. of cordage	1,280,000
600,000 cwt. of cannon	960,000
10,000 fuzees, fit for marine service	200,000
200 tons of powder	400,000
N. B. As iron is scarce and dear in America, especially in the east and northward states, I suppose 300 tons of iron	160,000
12 ships fit for sea, capable of being armed as frigates, of 24 to 36 guns, will, unarmed, cost 250,000 livres each, nearly	3,000,000
I suppose for shells, shot, cutlasses, spears, hand-grenadoes, and a variety of small articles, too many to be enumerated in such a general calculation, the sum of	1,000,000
Total amount	7,365,000

Equal to one million six hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars,* for which sum twelve of the ships will be purchased, and all the capital materials for the others. One million of livres, or two hundred thousand dollars, is a large allowance for the small articles; and I

* There seems to be a mistake here, if the author's mode of reckoning five livres to the dollar be adopted. The sum would then be one million four hundred and seventy-three thousand dollars.—*Note by Jared Sparks.*

know, from offers made me from Sweden, that the ships and other articles referred to, may be purchased there at the above rates, if they have not risen since the month of March last.

4thly. Of the proposed loan by the plan preceding, there will remain, after sinking the fifty-three millions and the payment of the present debts, the sum of one million and a half sterling, or 6,666,666 2-3 dollars, out of which deduct the above sum of 1,672,000, and there remains the sum of 4,994,666 2-3 dollars, or twenty-five millions of livres nearest, for other purposes, a sum sufficient for many great purposes. The commissioners, to the time of my leaving France, had not, in the whole, ever received four millions of livres, to enable them to procure all the supplies, which they engaged and sent over.

5thly. These stores, and ships to transport them, may be procured on the best terms in Sweden. Swedish ships are not so durable as those built in England, or of cedar and live oak, but I am well assured they greatly exceed those built of the common American oak. Sweden is ever so under the influence of France, that there is no doubt but, with proper management, these ships and stores may be obtained, and a convoy for them, which, by sailing in June next, and coming north about, might arrive at Boston in season, and with very little or no risk ; but the fear of being too tedious prevents my being more particular.

6thly. If it be agreeable to make the purchase of the materials enumerated, but not of the ships, as ships may be had to freight them over, it will amount to much the same.

7thly. I will only add, that in time of peace should any of these ships proposed, be to be disposed of out of the continental, they will not be too large for many branches of the merchant service. If these proposals should appear just and practicable, many less matters connected with them will require consideration ; and as in the first, so in this plan, everything depends on immediate despatch.

It has been objected, that such a number of ships could not be manned; but if it is considered that there are now employed in privateering a greater number of men, than are sufficient to man this proposed fleet, it is easy to obviate this difficulty by offering such inducements, as will infallibly lead both officers and men to prefer the public to any private service whatever. The United States have not in view private or partial, but public and extensive objects, the humbling our enemies, the defence of our coasts, and the laying the foundation of a great and flourishing marine. If the whole of the prize money be divided among the seamen and officers, or suppose three-fourths actually shared, and the remainder appropriated for the building and support of a hospital for sick, wounded, and disabled seamen, such a resolution will be a generous one, and cannot fail of answering the end. His Most Christian Majesty has generously done this for his officers and seamen serving in his marine, by his ordinance of April last.

Philadelphia, 13th November, 1778.

P. S. Apprehensive of being tedious when I wrote the above, I said nothing on the methods for paying the interest for the first two or three years, until a certain revenue can be established, for considering the present depreciated state of our currency, and the scarcity of specie, it cannot be instantly expected. I take therefore the liberty of suggesting two methods, one of which will most certainly answer the purpose. The first is to borrow of France or Spain, the interest money for the first three years, by which, the interest punctually paid, a credit will become established, and future loans may be made if wanted, and our commerce will be so far restored, that it will not be difficult to raise specie equal to the payment. But should this method fail, there still remains a certain resource, for even if the plan for equipping a navy be adopted, yet there will still remain in

bank, as will be seen by the calculation and estimate, a sum sufficient for more than three years' interest.

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 158.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, Saturday, November 14, 1778. A letter of the 13th from Mr. S. Deane was read, inclosing a memorial on the subject of currency, and establishing a marine or naval force for the defence of the American coasts :

Ordered, to lie on the table, for the perusal of the members.

Journals of Congress.

TO COL. SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Philadelphia, 14th Nov., 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,—Miss Ogden has the goodness to be the bearer of this Letter. I have wrote you several, and am surprised to learn that you have not received them, as I sent them open, and the Contents were inoffensive. I fondly hoped you would, before this, have been exchanged, for I am extremely impatient to see you, though it were but for a few Days ; thus, as the last resource, I proposed to Capt. Duncan that at least you might be permitted to come out on your parole for a few weeks. I wrote you a Letter by him open, which you must have received before this will come to hand.

I pray you to take care of your health, and to write me by every opportunity, just to let me know how you are as to health, and if I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you, yet I shall be no less anxious for your release, to obtain which, nothing in my power shall be wanting.

I am, my Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

Col. Webb.

Reminiscences of Gen. S. B. Webb, page 85.

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Wednesday, November 18, 1778. A letter of the 7th, and one of the 11th of August from the Honourable A. Lee, Esquire, at Paris, directed to the Committee of Correspondence at Congress, were read, together with sundry papers inclosed and referred to therein :

Ordered, That they be lodged with the Secretary, for the perusal of the members.

Journals of Congress.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, November 19, 1778.

Sir,—I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 7th of October last, and having since received a letter from Mr. Williams, I send it inclosed, to show to Congress that the moneys mentioned by Mr. A. Lee in his letter of the 1st June last, to have been received by that gentleman, have, in the opinion of two of the Commissioners been well laid out and faithfully accounted for. It gives me great pleasure to find that the clothes contracted for by M. Monthieu, Messrs. Holker, Sabbatier, Desprez, that gentleman and others, are, on examination, approved of and allowed to be the best of the kind, both as to the quality of the cloth and the fashion they are made in, of any that have ever been imported. It is indeed a fortunate circumstance that out of near forty thousand suits so few have been intercepted. As Mr. A. Lee in his letters has insinuated that the contracts for these clothes were made entirely by me, and has charged me with great extravagance in them, I beg leave to inform Congress, that these suits, complete and delivered on board, do not cost on an average thirty-six livres, or thirty-one shillings and sixpence sterling the suit. I labored hard to send over shoes, stockings, and shirts, in proportion, and so far as it was effected, the suit complete, with shoes, stockings, and

shirt, does not amount in the whole to forty shillings sterling. These facts being known, I am content to take on myself the merit or demerit of furnishing these supplies. I will make no comment on the dismission of a man of Mr. Williams's known abilities, integrity, and economy, and who did the business of the public for two per cent., to make room for the deputies of Mr. William Lee, who shares five per cent. with them, nor on the still more unaccountable conduct of Mr. A. Lee, in ordering bills, accepted by Messrs. Franklin and Adams, to be protested. It gives me pain to be forced to lay these facts before Congress, but cannot, consistent with the duty I owe my country, nor with the justice due myself, permit them and others of the like nature to remain longer concealed from public view and examination. My letter of the 7th ult. covered observations on Mr. Lee's and Mr. Izard's letter to Congress, to which am still without the honor of any reply. Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to learn by what part of my public conduct I have merited the neglect with which my letters and most respectful solicitations, for months past, to be heard before Congress, have been treated. I confess that I once flattered myself the services that I performed in procuring supplies, and sending them to the United States at the most critical period of their affairs, and in assisting to bring forward and conclude the treaties, together with the honorable testimonials from the Court of France whilst I had the honor of residing there, would have merited the approbation of Congress, with every person of sensibility and honor; to imagine what must be my disappointment and chagrin to find myself obliged at last to leave America without being informed if exceptions have been taken to any part of my conduct, or what they may be. Thus situated, though I can but feel most sensibly, yet a consciousness of the integrity and zeal which have ever guided and animated my conduct, and a sense of the important services I have been so fortunate as to render my country, with the confi-

dence I have that justice will yet be done me, support, and will never permit me to forget or desert myself or my country whilst in my power to be useful. I took the liberty, on the 12th inst., in writing to Congress, again to remind them of my being without any answer to my request; and, having wrote already repeatedly, I will not trouble that honorable body further on the subject of my being heard, agreeable to what by their resolutions which recalled me, and since I hoped for and had reason to expect, but praying them to accept my sincere thanks for the honor they did me in appointing me their commercial and political agent in Europe, and afterwards one of their Commissioners to the Court of France, by which I have had an opportunity of rendering my country important services. I have only to repeat my former request that orders may be given to their Minister at the Court of France, to have my accounts examined and settled immediately on my return thither, referring to my letter of the 7th on that head, and entreating for a speedy resolution on the subject.

I have the honor to remain, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

His Excellency Henry Laurens.

P. S. Since writing the above, I am informed that letters have been received from the Honorable Mr. Lee, and read in Congress, which mention certain proceedings of Mr. Hodge, and that a sum of money had been paid Mr. S. Wharton by my order, without the knowledge of the Commissioners, and which I left unexplained and accounted for. I will only say here, that any insinuations of this kind are totally groundless, and make me feel most sensibly what I suffer by not being permitted to be heard before Congress, which I still solicit for.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-Six Society, page 128.

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Friday, November 20, 1778. A letter of the 19th from S. Deane, Esquire, was read, inclosing a letter of July 22d to him from J. Williams, at Passy, near Paris.

Journal of Congress.

From Samuel Cutler.

Boston, Nov. 21st, 1778.

Sir,—Agreeable to Mr. Williams' desire, I have to inform you, that I have arrived from France with his accounts to lay before Congress, with a letter and other papers to them, and two letters for you which I am to deliver to you; that honor I shall do myself as soon as the weather will permit.

At the time I left France (the 28th. September) it was credibly reported that William Lee, Esq., then Alderman of London, had wrote his friends there that he should not resign his gown, as he intended to return and take it up again, and convince the world that he had, while in the service of America, been acting for the good of England, as well as the United States.

I am, with great respect, Sir, Your Humble Servant,

Samuel Cutler.

Hon. Silas Deane, Esq.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 23, 1779.

To Barnabas Deane.

Philadelphia, 23d Novr, 1778.

My dear Brother,—I received yours of the 2d and should not have delayed an Answer so long had I known what to say to you: as to my private affairs, finish as soon as possible a sale of the Furniture; as to the real Estate I will think further about it hereafter. Your reflections on the measures which certain ignorant or desperately wicked men, some of them in high station,

with you are proposing, I fear will take place, in part at least. The Congress have now been busy for more than Three months on the affair of their Finances, in which they have made but small advances, & I am of Opinion the backward way, for the Resolutions proposed, & which I fear will be carried, tend directly to introduce the principle and practise you refer to, it is to declare certain Emissions no longer a legal Tender, and thereby induce the holders of the paper to bring it into the Loan Offices, to put as they term it, about Forty Million out of Circulation, in order to prevent further depreciation ; but as they must immediately emit Forty Millions more, and as some of the Loan Office Certificates must circulate, this Scheme will not produce even a Temporary relief, since at best there will be some more paper than at present actually circulating, and the Loan Office Certificates being nothing but paper, there will be actually existing forty Million of Paper in Addition to what is out at present. No one here is hardy enough to propose paying off the public Debt at a Discount, but as none of the Emissions have any Day of payment fixed by Congress except the first, the declaring the Bills no longer a Legal Tender, and the Total uncertainty as to the Day of payment will operate to that purpose unavoidably for six Dollars in paper being now publicly given for one in silver, the public must insensibly be brought to estimate the paper by that scale ; it is true was the payment certain even at Twenty Years hence, no one would make such a discount, but a Note of hand payable without mentioning the time is in fact payable on Demand or never, between individuals, if the Congress agree to call in largely by Taxes, and at the same Time negociate a Loan in Europe. The Paper may still be valuable, and public Faith and Credit saved, but I am sorry to find that most of the Gentlemen in power who set up for Financiers are for particular complicated systems, the operation of which is uncertain, & not easily understood, nor is it easy to convince them, that in all Cases, the most simple is the

best, & that in ours, it is the only one practicable, in a word I fear the Consequences of a Total Bankruptcy which to me appears more than probable in the present plan. I know not how to advise you better than to contrive if possible to vest what money you have in something substantial, or to change it for Paper of the first Emission; this Paper must be the most certain of any having a Day fixed for payment which now draws near, but this must be done with address, and secrecy for if the holders of those Bills once come to be alarmed they will lay them by, and raise the present Value of them. My affairs remain as they were, and I design before I leave America if nothing is done, to lay my Case at large before the public. I have hitherto delayed it, hoping I should not be put to the disagreeable Necessity, & knowing the Effects it must have on public affairs, but the Law of Self defence being the first of all I shall not longer be silent. I go on a party with Mons. Gerard, tomorrow, for Bethlehem & hope to return next Sunday, if so will write you by next post.

I am, my Dear Brother, most sincerely,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Nov^{r} 30th 1778.

DEAR BROTHER,—I returned last Night from a Tour to Bethlehem, &c., which I made in Company with Mons. Gerard, and this morning received yours of the 15th inst. by a French Officer. I hope mine of Monday last came safe, in that you will find in general my Thoughts of our Currency, but no one can think or calculate with any certainty or satisfaction on the subject. I confess a Bankruptcy appears to me very probable, especially as a great part of the Congress are against even attempting to make a foreign Loan. The Principles advanced by

certain leading Men with you, may soon become prevalent among the bulk of the People, whose Interest it will be to adopt them, however inconsistent with public Faith & honor, and when once the principle prevails, the Point will be carried easily. The Congress have for a long time since been engaged about arranging their Treasury and Finances. The first is in a manner compleated, that is, the Officers are appointed; but for the latter it is still unfinished, and I fear will be debated upon, untill it will be too late to do anything to Purpose. I have wrote more than Ten Letters to Congress since you was here, without a single Line in reply. I shall on Thursday next begin a publication of my Case, with my Observations on the Conduct of Congress towards me, and lay before the Public at large my Sentiments on the critical Situation of their affairs. I have struggled long against being obliged to take such a Measure, but self Defence has at last forced me in it. I shall be as short and as moderate as possible, but I feel it a Duty which I owe my honest and abused Countrymen; it may be one of the last I shall ever have it in my power to render them. As I shall on my return to France withdraw myself from all further political Concerns, and study only to enjoy myself with my Friends, and take Care of my Son's Education, untill our Affairs become so far settled as to induce me to return; until then I shall prefer a peaceful Voluntary Exile from my Native Country and its Concerns, to the experiencing of the ingratitude of those I have so essentially served, and to the being a Spectator of what gives me the most sensible Pain even in Prospect.

I design to set out this week for the Camp on a Visit to General Washington, which will take me about Ten Days; after this I shall without Loss of Time go for Virginia, and if a favorable occasion offer embark there, but before this I shall write you often, and very particularly; I say if a favorable occasion offer, for I am still determined if it does not, to return & embark at Boston or Portsmouth; pray inform me if you receive this and

my Last in safety. I advise you to save in hand all the money you can of the first Emission; my Reasons for giving you this advice are obvious. I wish to collect a sum of it on my own account. I am, my Dear Brother, most affectionately yours, &c.

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esq[r]

Thomas Mss.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 30th November, 1778.

SIR,—I am still so unhappy as to be without the honor of any reply to the several letters I have written through you to Congress, praying that honorable body to favor me with an audience, and that they would give the necessary orders to their ministers or commissioners at the Court of Versailles to examine, adjust, and settle my accounts immediately on my return to France. I take the liberty now to add to what I have already written, that the hopes of being favored with an audience have already occasioned my losing several very agreeable and safe opportunities of returning, until the season has become as pressing as the business which calls me back, and obliges me most earnestly to entreat the attention of Congress to my situation and requests.

I have the honor to remain, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

To His Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 175.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, Tuesday, December 1, 1778. A letter of November 30th from S. Deane, Esquire, was read; whereupon

Resolved, That after to-morrow Congress will meet

two hours at least each evening, beginning at six o'clock, Saturday evening excepted, untill the present state of our foreign affairs shall be fully considered.

Journals of Congress.

To Jonathan Williams.

The following is a Copy of a genuine Letter to a person of eminence in the American interest at Paris, from Mr Silas Deane, sometime one of the Delegates from Connecticut to the Continental Congress, and lately a Commissioner from that body to the court of France.

Philadelphia, 3d Dec., 1778.

Dear Sir,—Though still without a single line from you since I left France, I continue writing by every opportunity, as does 307 [Lee] from your side of the water 524, [the] 200, [fleet] 371, [of] 212, [France] sailed 204, [for] 330 [Savannah] from 68 *e.w.*, [Boston] 524 [the] 3d. Nothing has been done but to mark the time, and occasion an inefectual Campaign. 307, [Lee] has in his 306, [letters] 310 [much] 45d, [about] 59 [Beaumarchais]; and left 213 [Franklin] and 136, [Carmichael] pretty much alone. The Marquis la Fayette, who I expected would by this time have been with you, has been detained by sickness, and is but just now recovering, which is a great disappointment, for not only my letters, but Dr Franklin's commission and instructions were sent by him. I pray you take particular care of my son, and see that he has proper instructions, and put into a proper course of education for what I intend, which is that of a man of business. Our army are in effect gone into winter quarters, the eastern troops into those states, the others into the Jersies and New York government—116. *pzg. gpex.* [Congress] debating, and still in the old way. I have now spent near five months in this city, and though I have wrote ten letters to Congress, have been unable even to obtain an answer, and shall reap no satisfaction

by my voyage hither, but the knowledge of our affairs, and of the method in which they are conducted, if that can be called a satisfaction. Flour is now eight pounds per cwt. in this once plentiful city, and about twenty at Boston, and everything in proportion, from which I leave you to draw your conclusions as to our money and what must be our public debt soon, it being already nearest One Hundred Million of Dollars, one half of which has been contracted the last campaign. Inclosed is a paper in which you will see a part of General Lee's defence; 38, [the army] is extremely discontented, and 116, [Congress] held by 38, [the army] 275, [in] 524 [the] most 320, [odious] and despicable point of light; 524, [the] 393 [people] discontented, and a 226, [general] *Wor Wot* prevails among 524 [the] 393, [people], 371 [of], 25, [America]. Inclosed is a letter for M^r^ Nesbitt, which it is of consequence that he should have immediately. I pray you to forward it to him wherever he may be; it is most probable he will be at Dunkirk. Berkenhout has been imprisoned here. Pray get a minute account of that man's correspondence with Mons. Lee at Challiot, and ask Petry for a copy of that Letter which he received in March last from London, or an extract from it, which gave the information of the signing of the treaty. My compliments to all friends.

I am, in haste, my dear Sir, yours,

S. DEANE.

The Royal Gazette, New York, Feb. 13, 1779.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

SIR,—I have now to acknowledge your favors of 10 o'clock last evening, and to thank you for the attention paid to my last letter to you. Previous to receiving the intimation you have given me "that Congress had resolved to take into consideration their foreign affairs, and that such branches as I had been particularly concerned in would in due course become the subjects of

deliberation," I had prepared to leave this city, and had made my arrangements accordingly, which will not be in my power to dispense with for any time.

I take the liberty of mentioning this, as I do not find in the intimation you have given me of the resolution of Congress any time fixed for my attendance, and I take the liberty of repeating what I have before had the honor of writing to you, that my detention is extremely prejudicial to my private affairs, and, so far as I am able to judge, in some degree so to those of the public which I have had the honor of being intrusted with, some of which require my presence at the settlement of them, as well on account of my own reputation as for the interests of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,
Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,
SILAS DEANE.

Friday, 4th Dec., 1778.

His Excellency Henry Laurens, Esq.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-Six Society, page 131.

ADDRESS OF SILAS DEANE

To the Free and Virtuous CITIZENS *of* AMERICA.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,—The happiness or misfortunes, the benefits or injuries, of an individual, have generally no claim to the public attention. I do not, therefore, address you on my own account, but on yours. I do not wish to prejudice any man, but to serve my country. I was content, even while sacrificed for the aggrandizement of others; but I will not see an individual, or family, raised upon the ruins of the general weal. What I write to you, I would have said to your Representatives; their ears have been shut against me, by an attention to matters, which my respect for them induces me to believe were of more importance. While it was safe to be silent, my lips

were closed. Necessity hath opened them, and necessity must excuse this effort to serve, by informing you.

What I have done, and what I have suffered, from the moment I left my native shore, until I was honoured with one colleague, and saddled with another, is needless now to repeat; I have told it substantially to Congress, and as their servant, I leave it with them. In September, 1776, they appointed the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, Esqrs., and myself, their Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, previous to which, I had the honour to be the Commercial and Political Agent of America in Europe. My venerable friend, Dr. Franklin, arrived at Paris in December, 1776, and Arthur Lee, Esq., a few days after him. This gentleman, by agreement among the Commissioners, went to Spain in the month of February following, to negociate your interests there, and having by a wanton display of his errand, given great and just cause of distrust to the Court of Madrid, he returned in the beginning of April, not having gone further than the city of Burgos. The reasons of that Court for restricting him to this place, with many other matters important for you to know, may perhaps appear in the course of these letters.

While he was on that journey, Dr. Franklin received a commission to go thither, but his health, the season, and other circumstances prevented his departure until he was superceded. Many reasons concurred to convince the Commissioners, that Arthur Lee, Esq., could no where be less serviceable than at Paris, and therefore in May, 1777, he set off to make the tour of Germany, in order to arrive at Berlin in safety. At this place, he was so unfortunate as to do nothing, unless indeed we may give the name of business to the loss of his papers, by which a discovery was made of the secrets of his colleagues, and the British ministry enabled to counteract the measures taken for your benefit. In August he returned to Paris, and shortly after received his appointment as Commissioner to the Court of

Madrid, with reservation, nevertheless, of his former commission, to that of Versailles. Here I must leave him to take notice of another gentleman of the same family.

In February, 1777, I received a notification of the appointment of William Lee, Esq., to be one of your Commercial Agents in Europe, of which I gave him notice. As your commercial affairs were, at that time, in such a state as to require much attention and care, I pressed this gentleman, then in England, to come over immediately and execute his office, but heard nothing from him till the month of June, when he arrived in Paris. At this place he continued until about some time in August, when he went to Nantz. There he was loudly called on to regulate certain affairs, which he prudently declined, lest, as he observed, his property in England should be effected. In September or October, he returned to Paris, and there received his appointment of Commissioner to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. He continued nevertheless inactive at Paris until the month of December, carefully concealing his appointments, which might indeed have militated against his office of Alderman of the city of London, which he did then, and probably does still retain. When the news of General Burgoyne's defeat and surrender arrived, it produced a revolution in the minds of many, and, among others, inspired your Commercial Agent and Political Commissioner, the Honourable William Lee, Esq., with some degree of activity in your favour.

That I may not be under the necessity of mentioning this gentleman again, I add here, that he hath since gone to Vienna, having first appointed sundry commercial Agents for you, at the several ports, and in one instance removed the person * who had faithfully

* Mr. Williams, a native of Boston, a gentleman greatly esteemed in France for his knowledge and integrity in mercantile transactions, as well as for his agreeable and engaging manners, who being well acquainted with the language, and the commercial rules and customs in that kingdom, had rendered very important services to his country, in his department. I shall mention this gentleman more particularly in the course of my future letters.

done your business for two per cent. in favour of another, who is to receive five per cent. of which, as well as of the like commission at other places, Mr. Lee receives a share, for superintending at Vienna, the business done on your account a thousand miles off from his place of residence.

My respect for the Honorable the Congress, and of consequence for its members, will lead me to treat with all possible tenderness their friends, dependants and connections, and therefore, as the Honorable Arthur and William Lee, Esqrs., have two brothers in that Body, I shall make no other observation on the fruitful topic of their manners and deportment than this, that unfortunately for you, those gentlemen so highly elevated, and so widely entrusted, gave universal disgust to the nation whose assistance we solicited.

Having thus introduced you to your great servants, I proceed to make you acquainted with some other personages, which it is of consequence for you to know. I am sorry to say, that the Honorable Arthur Lee, Esq., was suspected, by some of the best friends you had abroad, and those in important characters and stations. This arose from his connection and acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, who had been his patron in England, and to whom it was, from many circumstances, supposed he disclosed your secrets. These suspicions, whether well or ill founded, were frequently related and urged to Doctor Franklin and myself, and joined to his undisguised hatred of, and expressions of contempt for, the French nation in general, embarrassed us exceedingly, and was of no small prejudice to your affairs.

In the summer of 1777, a correspondence took place between a certain Doctor Berkenhout and the Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq., on political subjects. The Doctor proposed, in general terms, an accommodation, and after all obstacles arising from our supposed want of confidence in him, and the like, were removed, the Doctor went so far as to propose a meeting with Mr. Lee; but

these dispositions were deranged, by the news of General Howe's arrival in this city. Mr. Lee shewed to Doctor Franklin and myself a part of this correspondence, and in order to give the greater weight to Doctor Berkenhout's remarks, gave us to understand, that the Doctor was in the confidence of the British Ministry.

Immediately on the arrival of the news of General Burgoyne's surrender, a treaty with France seemed to the British Ministry more near and more probable; your Commissioners, therefore, were continually sounded, indirectly, as to their dispositions for reconciliation. About this time Mr. Lee's Secretary went to and from London, charged with affairs which were secret to your other Commissioners. Conjectures were formed, it is true, and with the more reason, as Mr. Lee was dragged into the treaty with the utmost reluctance. It was agreed that this important matter should be kept a profound secret, yet a few days from the signing, it was pointedly declared in the House of Commons, by the Hon. Charles Fox, Esq., the friend of Lord Shelburne; this gave additional weight to the other circumstances. Add to this, that the attention of Doctor Franklin and myself to your service, gave rise to many bickerings and disputes between Mr. Lee and us; the consequence was, that insinuations and misrepresentations, to my disadvantage, were transmitted across the Atlantic, and stored up here for purposes which will hereafter appear. On the fourth day of March, I received in a cover, from one of the Committee of foreign correspondence, the following Resolution:

IN CONGRESS, *December* 8, 1777.

"WHEREAS, it is of the greatest importance that Congress should, at this critical conjuncture, be well informed of the state of affairs in Europe. And whereas Congress have resolved that the honorable Silas Deane, Esq., be recalled from the court of France, and have

appointed another Commissioner to supply his place there. Ordered, that the Committee for foreign affairs, write to the honorable Silas Deane, and direct him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible despatch to Congress."

And having placed my papers and yours, in safety, I left Paris the 30th to embark for my native country, on board that fleet, which your great and generous ally sent out for your assistance, in full confidence that I should not be detained for any considerable time in America on the business I was sent for. Just before my departure I was informed of a matter which, as it may tend to throw light on other circumstances, I shall simply relate. A gentleman of character told me, that his correspondant in England had seen a letter from the honorable Arthur Lee, Esq., dated the very day on which the treaty was signed (though it was not finished until near nine o'clock at night), in which were nearly these words : " This day the new partnership was signed and sealed, and the new house will begin to do business immediately. If the old house means to have any thing to do further, and means honestly, they must make their proposals immediately."

When I arrived at this place I solicited an audience of the Congress, which, after many delays which some circumstances rendered unavoidable, I obtained. I was twice heard before that honorable body, viz. on the 19th and on the 21st of August, when I gave them as good a general account of the matters entrusted to me as the time would permit. It being my intent to deliver singly and by itself a history of those affairs, and then to mention from time to time for their consideration such things as my duty to you should require. But after these two audiences I have been unable to obtain a third, altho' I have continually solicited it, and written several letters for that purpose, which, together with the answers I have received and the several intermediate transactions, as far as the public service requires

it, shall in due time, with the utmost candor on my part, be laid before you; without deviating in the least from that respect which I have always professed, and which I feel for that honorable body; and lest anything which I have said, or may say, should be misinterpreted, I do hereby again repeat my veneration for your Representatives, excepting, always, those (if any such there be) who, with partial, interested views, and for sinister purposes, have endeavoured to sacrifice your interest, as well as my reputation. I come now to some things without which I might perhaps have continued still longer silent. In September last I was informed that the Doctor Berkenhout, who I have mentioned above, was in gaol in this city. I confess I was surprized, considering what I have already related, that this man should have the audacity to appear in the capital of America. I immediately set myself about the measures which I conceived necessary to investigate his plans and designs, concluding he was like to continue in those quarters for some time. But what was my astonishment, when in a few days after I was informed that he was gone back to New-York. There was in this something which was alarming. That a person who from every appearance was sent out as a spy should be sent back with the knowledge he had been able to collect was what I could not comprehend, and therefore, in order to set on foot an enquiry, I published the queries in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 10th of October, which had lain by me some days, in hopes that those in authority would have taken measures to prevent the necessity of it.

To these queries no satisfactory answer ever was or probably ever will be given. At length that Providence in whom we have put our trust hath, by a concurrence of incidents, unfolded to me the transaction, which was as follows. Doctor Berkenhout came from New-York, passed the lines, and came to this place, under the pretence of important business with Congress; when he arrived in this place, he made no application to that

body, but to the honorable Richard Henry Lee, Esq. Doctor Berkenhout hath since said, that he had letters to that honorable member of Congress, from the honorable Arthur Lee, Esq., joint Commissioner of the United States at the court of Versailles, and sole Commissioner of those states at the court of Madrid. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Doctor had several meetings with the honorable Richard H. Lee, Esq. It is also certain, that when the Doctor returned to New York he ventured to assure the British Commissioners that, by the alliance with France, America was at liberty to make peace, without consulting her ally, unless England declared war; and it is equally certain, that the honorable Richard Henry Lee, Esq., constantly and pertinaciously maintained this doctrine.

After the Doctor had been some few days in this town, he became suspected by the honorable the Executive Council of this state, who determined to apprehend him. When this matter was mentioned to the honorable Richard H. Lee, Esq., he declared the suspicions against him were base and groundless, and that he was a good friend to America. He was nevertheless put into gaol, and there, notwithstanding the precautions which were supposed to have been taken, he did see sundry persons. He was permitted afterwards by the Executive Council to return to New-York. I have been told that even when he was dismissed, some gentlemen of that board were of opinion that he was (as in fact he was) an emissary from the British ministry. When the Doctor returned, he carried with him letters, among others one for *Governor Johnstone.* He declared he had got what he wanted by his journey. He advised the sending other emissaries throughout these states, to discover the designs and disposition of the people, and the like. Governor Johnstone, on the Doctor's complaining that this measure had not before been adopted, promised that he would urge it to the British ministry. He advised also that Lt. Colonel Conolly, should be by all means

sent to the assistance of Colonel Butler, and that they should make a point of obtaining his release, and for that purpose, if it was refused, that they should call in all their prisoners who were out on parole, which they have actually since done.

It may not be amiss here, to give you the following short account. The Doctor on his return to New-York fell into company with a person going into the city on private business; he mistook this person for a friend of government (as certain persons call themselves) and after landing at Staten-Island, spoke his mind freely on the above as well as other subjects. This person afterwards lodged in the same house with the Doctor, and heard his conversation with Governor Johnstone. Particular circumstances forbid my mentioning the name of this person at present; it is sufficient that the information was voluntarily given, and before several persons of the first rank and character in this city. Now, then, my countrymen, let me state in short my reasons for giving you these facts. I have thought ever since the violences and despotism of Great Britain first drove the dispute to the issue of arms, that an alliance with France was for your real interest and happiness.

I was, as far as in me lay, a willing instrument to promote it. I now see, what I have for some time suspected, a design to lead you into a breach of your national faith and honor, solemnly pledged, and thereby most probably, to the eventual loss of that liberty, which you have purchased at so great an expence of blood and treasure. I see also a design to lay waste your frontiers, by a most cruel and barbarous war, and at the same time to fix in the different capitals emissaries to betray your secrets, and by every other means, which either a casual or designed inattention to them, may put in their power, to aid and bring about those designs. I think it therefore my duty to put you on your guard.

When I mention, that the honourable Arthur Lee,

Esq., your Commissioner at the court of Madrid, and one of your Commissioners at Versailles, and the honorable William Lee, Esq., your Commissioner at the Court of Vienna, and your Commissioner at the Court of Berlin (which Courts are now actually at war with each other) and also that he is your commercial Agent in Europe, and that they have two brothers in Congress, I do not speak from any pique against them, for altho' they are my personal and lately my avowed enemies, yet their conduct on many occasions hath been such, that to honor them with the emotions of anger would be degrading to that character which I hope always to maintain. My object is, merely to rescue your reputation. Foreigners are not perhaps so clear sighted as they ought to be, and therefore cannot discern in those your Commissioners that degree of merit which hath led your Representatives to confer on them such various and incompatible offices. And being equally ignorant of the wise and equitable manner in which your business is conducted, they rashly conclude, that appointments, of which they cannot discern the propriety, are to be attributed to the influence of intrigue and cabal. I have also a farther view in writing this letter ; it is to put those gentlemen who in some instances have carried not only their suspicions, but their aspersions against some of your firmest friends very far, on their guard against those old obligations and attachments which may ruin your affairs, and to be particularly careful whom they recommend, and how. And would warn them from past experience against future danger, and intreat them not too hastily and too rashly to impart your secrets to improper persons, particularly as Great-Britain has not as yet acknowledged your Independence, and offered a treaty, the cultivation of an interest at that court cannot compensate the sacrifices which must be made to acquire it. Lastly, my countrymen, whilst I reverence your unsuspecting confidence, I would inculcate on your minds the artifices of your foes, and lead you to beware, and on your guard.

I am your friend and countryman, and I can say with truth and with pride your faithful servant.

S. DEANE.

Philadelphia, November, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 5, 1778.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, Saturday, December 5, 1778. A letter of the 4th from S. Deane, Esquire, was read:

Ordered, That Monday evening be assigned for hearing Mr. Deane, and that he be notified to attend.

Monday, December 7. Resolved, That Silas Deane, Esquire, report to Congress in writing, as soon as may be, his agency of their affairs in Europe, together with any intelligence respecting their foreign affairs which he may judge proper:

That Mr. Deane be informed, that if he hath any thing to communicate to Congress in the interim of immediate importance, he shall be heard to-morrow evening at six o'clock.

Mr. Deane attending was called in, and the foregoing resolution was read to him.

Journals of Congress.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Dec. 7th, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have only time to inclose you the Paper of the 5th containing my first Letter to my Countrymen; it has had a most surprising effect on the minds of the People here, so much so that it has been proposed in the most respectable Companies to have the public thanks of the Citizens given me for my publication, immediately on its making its appearance Congress unanimously voted to hear me at large, so that I now expect a speedy issue of my affairs with them. I received your Letters and from Mr. Hubbard; pray

write me if you received my last. I wrote freely in them, and I find Tricks are played with me, for I have not received a single Letter from France, except from my Son, for a long Time; he wrote me that he was well the 19th of August.

Adieu,

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esqr

Thomas Mss

REPLY OF FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

To the candid and impartial PUBLIC.

Mr. Silas Deane having in his Address, in Mr. Dunlap's last paper, thrown many dishonourable reflections on several persons highly trusted by America, and too far distant to answer for themselves, I think it but justice to those injured characters, to request that you will suspend your judgments, until the matter is fully investigated by those whose immediate business it is, and who are most likely to be possessed of the means to establish the truth, when, no doubt, all the parties will receive their due, whether of reward or punishment, and the public good be secured.

In the meantime I hope you will take a view of the several characters, from the commencement of the present contest with Great-Britain; the part they have acted; what they have sacrificed; and what were their probable prospects; and then I am sure you will agree with me, that the narrative is void of probability, and ought to be supported with much better evidence than insinuations, inuendoes, and bare assertions.

As to the decency of the performance with respect to that Body, to which America must always owe its safety and happiness, I leave it to those whom it may concern. And the real friends to the independency of America will determine on the propriety of such a publication, in the present situation of our affairs. For my own part, I so reverence the Representatives of the People, and

have so warm a concern for the public welfare, that I had much rather my nearest connections should suffer a temporary injustice, than offend the one, or in the least injure the other.

I, too, most sincerely wish you to be on your guard. Trust not professions ; hear both sides, and judge from well attested facts.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

Philadelphia, December 7, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 8, 1778.

DEANE'S CARD TO THE PUBLIC.

To the Printer of the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

SIR,—*Please to insert the inclosed in your next paper.*

Mr. Deane most respectfully presents himself before his countrymen, the free and virtuous Citizens of America, and informs them, that the Honorable the Congress did, on Saturday morning the 5th instant, assign Monday evening (then following) to hear him ; and on that evening "Resolved, That he report to Congress in writing as soon as may be, his agency of their affairs in Europe together with any intelligence respecting their foreign affairs which he may judge proper." He therefore conceives he cannot with propriety continue his narrative at present. In the mean time he submits it to their good sense, Whether he ought to take any notice of a publication signed Francis Lightfoot Lee, opposed to stubborn and undeniable facts.

Philadelphia, 8th December, 1778.

Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 10, 1778.

JAMES LOVELL TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

[Philadelphia] Dec. 10th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—It was not possible for me to acknowledge your favour of November the 29th, by the same

post, which gave me the pleasure of hearing, that you and your lovely family were well; nor will I now particularly notice the subjects you hinted to me. I will rather give you a few entries of our journals, and an anecdote of our friend Adams, to enable you to read the prints with a proper comprehension of the plotting spirit of some of the chaps who are scribbling therein, and of the serpentine, malicious, and elusive course, which others have been contriving for themselves since you left us. Temple came to this city about ten days ago, bringing letters of high recommendation, both to Congress and to the delegates of Massachusetts. His letters were from the council of state, Governor Trumbull, General Washington, Governor Livingston, and the first whigs indisputably of Boston. Mr. Adams conducted Mr. Temple from his lodgings to the president's, to introduce the delivery of the mentioned letters; this *simple call at* the door of the man's lodging is termed to the public "so *frequent* in *exchange* of visits," and probably by the very tall wiseacre who was for constituting a semblance of the French lieutenancy of police, to *fall in with, pimp upon*, and otherwise *entrap*, all visiting strangers, even so far as to write fictitious letters and intercept the answers. But I drop this pitiful subject, only remarking that the hint in the prints is a good answer to all our recommendatory letters, for there was nothing public or private, which Mr. Temple ought not rather to have communicated by letter than by a visit. I must give you my key to his whole proceedings; it is in the cry of the preacher, "Vanity of vanities, *all is vanity*."

November 30th, 1778. On motion,

Resolved, That Congress meet on Wednesday evening, at six o'clock, to consider the proceedings of the courts martial on the trials of Major General Lee, Major General Schuyler, and Major General St. Clair.

December 1st. A letter of November 30th, from Silas Deane, Esq., was read. Whereupon,

Resolved, That, after to-morrow, Congress will meet,

two hours at least, each evening, beginning at six o'clock, Saturday evenings excepted, until the present state of our foreign affairs be fully considered.

December 5th. A letter of the 4th, from Silas Deane, Esq., was read.

Ordered, That Monday evening be assigned for hearing Mr. Deane, and that he be notified to attend.

December 7th. *Resolved*, That Silas Deane, Esq., report to Congress, in writing, as soon as may be, his agency of their affairs in Europe ; together with any information which he may judge proper.

That Mr. Deane be informed, that if he hath anything to communicate to Congress in the interim, of immediate importance, he shall be heard to-morrow evening at six o'clock.

He published on the 5th, notwithstanding our resolve of the 1st, upon his letter of November 30th. It is true, he dates November blank, to give his piece the air of precedency ; but if he *had* really appealed to the public, why write to us on the 30th ? He had made himself a culprit before our bar, by refusing to answer any interrogations "tending to criminate himself."

He was the cause of often delay. I need add no more to you ; therefore conclude, your humble servant, affectionately,

J. Lovell.

Life of Richard Henry Lee, II. 145.

Arthur Lee to Theodoric Bland.

Extract of a letter dated Paris, Dec. 13th, 1778.

"I see by the public prints with you, that my quondam colleague (Deane) is assuming all the merit of what has been done here, & I know he is forming a faction against your friend (me). I should never have opened my lips upon the subject, did not their assuming merits which they do not deserve make it an act of justice to state the facts. So far, then, were my colleagues from

having any peculiar merit in the treaties, that it was with the greatest difficulty I persuaded them to insist on the recognition of our sovereignty, and the acknowledgement of our independence. These were proposed by your friend, evaded by his colleagues, and only admitted after being re-urged in a manner that made them apprehend the consequences of an opposition they could not justify. It was also in spite of the opinion, reasoning, and even remonstrance of your friend, that they would insert two articles in the treaty, which articles were unanimously condemned by Congress, and have been expunged here. After this, one would imagine they might have been contented with an equal share of praise, when in truth their conduct had merited censure. They will force me one day or other to bring the proofs of these things before Congress and the public, when I am sure they will shed some of their borrowed plumes.

"Mr. Deane is universally understood to have made £60,000 sterling while he was Commissioner."

Sparks MSS., Harvard University.

Communication from Robert Treat Paine.

To the Printer of the Pennsylvania Packet.

Sir,—When the publication of Mr. Silas Deane appeared in your paper of December 5th, notwithstanding the facts there asserted, and the respectability of the character who openly laid them before the public, I was willing to suspend my judgment. I expected that some of Mr. Lee's friends, or connections, would at least have attempted to disprove such of the facts alleged in the address, as from their acquaintance with public transactions, and their intimate correspondence with Messieurs Arthur and William Lee, they must necessarily have it in their power to satisfy the public mind on, without any delay.

The facts I allude to are these—Whether Mr. Arthur

Lee is, or is not, Commissioner both to the Courts of Versailles and of Madrid?

Whether he was not an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Berkenhout, corresponded with him on subjects of a political nature during Mr. Lee's residence at Paris, and gave him letters of introduction to his brother the Honourable R. H. Lee?

Whether Mr. William Lee is, or is not, Commissioner to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, and Commercial Agent for the Congress in Europe?

Whether this Gentleman did not, since his appointment to offices of public trust under the United States, hold his office of Alderman of the city of London, and whether he does not still hold that office?

Whether Mr. Williams of Boston, who transacted the commercial business of these States for two per cent., has not been displaced; and whether Mr. Lee, with his Agents, do not receive five per cent. for doing the same business.

These surely are points which require no long consideration to answer, and in which the interest, safety and reputation of these States are intimately concerned. With respect to Dr. Berkenhout's conversation with the person who accompanied him to New-York, and the letter said to be written by Mr. A. Lee to a friend in England on the day the treaty of Paris was signed, and some other points contained in Mr. Deane's publication, they are circumstances which may require a longer time for a proper investigation, though the first point, I should imagine, might soon be ascertained, as the person giving the information is said to be of this city; but these circumstances, if true, however alarming they are (especially at a time when war has not been formally declared either by France or England, and when there is too much reason to think that private agents are residing under the eye of the Congress and of the Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty) do not affect me so much as the circumstance of so many, so important, and such various and incompatible offices being

vested in one family, however great their abilities or pretensions to the public favor may be. I am an old man, Mr. Printer, who, though I have been prevented myself by infirmities from taking an active part in this glorious revolution, have constantly had two sons in the service of my country. I had cherished the flattering prospect that my children were hazarding their lives not only to repel a cruel enemy, but to secure to themselves and their posterity the enjoyment of a government founded upon such principles as promised fair to secure the liberties of those living under it. History has taught me to know that this cannot long be the case, where great power and trust is vested in any one family. It is the nature of power to secure and enlarge itself, to forget the purposes for which it was granted, and the source whence it was derived. If the page of history had been silent on this point, one would have imagined that the bad effects of family influence in the States of Pennsylvania and New-York would have made both Congress and the different States cautious on this point. Gracious Heavens! is it possible that in the infancy of our rising Republic, two brothers of one family should represent the interests and sovereignty of these United States at four of the principal Courts in Europe; and that two others of the same family should exercise the highest acts of sovereignty in our great Council, and thereby possess the power of securing and protecting their connections, however unfit their characters might be for the offices they fill, or however injuriously they may have acted in the public service. I do not say this is the case at present; I pretend not to enter into the merits of Messieurs Lees' characters, or to peep behind the curtain; but surely it behoves us to guard against such dangerous precedents. Independent of this grand consideration, there are two others which ought to have great weight. The first is, that other nations, whose eyes are now fixed upon us, will be led to imagine, either that there is a great dearth of abilities or virtue in other individuals, when we violate one

of the first maxims of a free state, by vesting such vast powers in one family; or that our Councils are tainted by the spirit of faction and intrigue. The second is, that it naturally tends to point out to our enemies those persons to obtain whose influence and confidence they ought in policy to spare neither act or any other means whatsoever, in hopes either of seducing us from an union of force with our great and generous ally, or by affecting to treat clandestinely about the acknowledgment of our independence, of rousing the suspicions of the Court of Versailles, and thereby inducing her, from irresistible motives of policy, to conclude a negociation with Great-Britain by which all our struggles may be frustrated, and our liberties sacrificed. Of this wicked policy these persons may become the unwary instruments, which I fear is the case at present, and shudder at the Consequences. With respect to Mr. William Lee's holding, in conjunction with his office as Commissioner to the two Courts, the office of a Commercial Agent, and that of Alderman of the City of London, there is something so unaccountably ridiculous in it that my respect for the Honourable Congress constrains me to think (notwithstanding the weight of Mr. Deane's character) either that he must be mistaken, or that Congress were unacquainted with the last circumstance, and had been led into the other by inattention, which the wisest bodies are sometimes liable to.

Mr. F. Lee seems to entertain a doubt of the decency of Mr. Deane's address with respect to the Honorable Congress, and the propriety of the publication at this time.

With respect to the decency of the address, it appears to me couched in such terms as can give no just cause of offence to any body of men, however dignified. Policy naturally induced every well-wisher to our cause, at the commencement of the contest, to impose a self-restraint both in speaking and writing, so long as the power exercised by Congress was (if I may use the expression) held by courtesy; and it was necessary, for

the preservation of our liberties, to give that Honorable Body deep root in the confidence of the people. But (thanks to that Providence which has blest our virtuous exertions), the reasons for so rigorous a restraint no longer exist. The danger now is, not that we should injure the common cause by examining the conduct of those who are in power with a decent freedom, but that under the false idea of decency we should become the suicides of our own liberties, by forbearing too long to exercise that right of speaking and writing with a decent boldness of public men and measures, which is unalienable in a citizen of a free state. It is worthy of observation, that free governments have oftener been imperceptibly subverted by an inattention or forbearance of the people to exercise their rights than by any violent or sudden usurpation of those in power. I trust that no other Member in that Honorable body feels any soreness with respect to the decency of Mr. Deane's publication ; I have too good an opinion of their sense and love of liberty to think they do ; but as I may be mistaken, let an old man, whose passions have subsided (and Legislators, like old men, ought to have none), entreat every individual Member to examine his own feelings on this subject, and if he feels his Congressional pride wounded, he may be assured it is high time he should mix with the mass of the people, and get again electrified with a portion of that stern and republican virtue which entitled him to the confidence of his constituents, and which can alone maintain it. I must likewise differ with Mr. F. Lee on the propriety of Mr. Deane's publication at this juncture. If what Mr. Deane says is true (and I must suppose so till proved to the contrary), that he has been urging the Honorable Congress for months past, without any effect, to hear him, this, in my opinion, would be a sufficient justification ; but when the nature and importance of the information is considered, the danger we have run by harbouring one under-negotiatior, and the disgrace we have suffered by allowing him to escape (not to say any thing of the

apprehensions of every honest whig with respect to another mysterious character now in this city, which possibly might have had some influence on Mr. Deane's mind), I think no reflecting patriot can doubt of the propriety and seasonableness of the publication. I have an unvariable rule of judging of the propriety of a measure, which is, the effect it produces on the minds of the different classes of the people; and I can assure you, Mr. Printer, that a number of my neighbours, on the day of the publication, came rushing into my room, where I have been for some time confined with the gout in one of my feet, to urge me to go with them to find out Mr. Deane and express our thanks for his watchful care over the public weal; and though I am cautious of doing any thing which may render people in high character prouder than their situation is too apt to make them, if I had obeyed the first impulse of my mind, I should have called for my crutches and complied with my friends' wishes, whom, with some difficulty, I restrained from going. I am told this has been the case in other parts of this city. Since that, I have been informed that the tories and disaffected have expressed their disapprobation of Mr. Deane's publication, which is another good symptom of its propriety. I have unwarily been led into a longer publication than I intended; but as loquacity is the failing of old age, I hope it will be excused in one who is your constant reader and customer.

SENEX.*

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 15. 1778.

THOMAS PAINE'S REPLY TO SILAS DEANE, ESQ.

After reading a few lines of your address to the public in the Pennsylvania Packet of December 6th, I can truly say, that concern got the better of curiosity, and I felt

* Senex is supposed to be Robert Treat Paine, Esq., late one of the Delegates to Congress from Massachusetts.—*Almon's American Remembrancer*, VII. 371.

an unwillingness to go through it. Mr. Deane must very well know that as I have no interest in, so likewise I am no stranger to, his negotiations and contracts in France, his difference with his colleagues, the reason of his return to America, and the matters which have occurred since. All these are to me familiar things; and while I can but be surprized at the conduct of Mr. Deane, I lament the unnecessary torture he has imprudently occasioned. That disagreements will arise between individuals, even to the perplexity of a State, is nothing new, but that they should be outrageously brought forward, by one, whose station abroad should have taught him a delicacy of manners, and even an excess of prudence, is something strange. The mind of a *living* public is quickly alarmed and easily tormented. It not only suffers by the stroke, but is frequently fretted by the cure, and ought therefore to be tenderly dealt with, and *never to be trifled with.* It feels first and reasons afterwards. Its jealousy keeps vibrating between the accused and the accuser, and on a failure of proof always fixes on the latter. Had Mr. Deane's address produced no uneasiness in the body he appeals to, it would have been a sign, not of tranquillity, but death; and though it is painful to see it unnecessarily tortured, it is pleasant to contemplate the living cause.

Mr. Deane is particularly circumstanced. He has advantages which seldom happen, and when they do happen, ought to be used with the nicest care and the strictest honor. He has the opportunity of telling his own tale, and there is none to reply to him. Two of the gentlemen he so freely censures are three thousand miles off, and the other two he so freely affronts are Members of Congress; one of them likewise, Col. R. H. Lee, is absent in Virginia, and however painful may be their feelings, they must attend the progressive conduct of the house. No Member in Congress can individually take up the matter without being inconsistent, and none of the public understand it sufficiently. With these

advantages Mr. Deane ought to be nicely and strictly the gentleman, in his language, his assertions, his intimations and his facts. He presents himself, as his own evidence, upon his honor, and any misrepresentation or disingenuous trifling in him will be fatal. Mr. Deane begins his address with a general display of his services in France, and strong *insinuations* against the Hon. Arthur and William Lee, he brings his complaints down to the time of signing the treaty, and from thence to the fourth of March, when he received the following order of Congress which he inserts at large.

IN CONGRESS, *December 8, 1777.*

"WHEREAS, it is of the greatest importance that Congress should at this critical conjuncture be well informed of the state of Affairs in Europe. And, whereas, Congress have resolved that the Honourable Silas Deane, Esq., be recalled from the Court of France, and have appointed another Commissioner to supply his place there. Ordered, that the Committee for foreign correspondence, write to the Honorable Silas Deane, and direct him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible dispatch to Congress."

Mr. Deane then says, "and having placed *my papers* and *yours in safety*, I left Paris the 30th to embark for my native country, on board that fleet which your great and generous ally sent out for your assistance, in *full confidence* that I should not be detained on the *business I was sent for.*"

I am obliged to tell Mr. Deane that this arrangement is somewhat uncandid, for on the reading it, it creates an opinion and likewise carries an appearance that Mr. Deane was only *sent* for, as the necessary and proper person from whom Congress might obtain a history of their affairs, and learn the characters of their foreign Agents, Commissioners and Ambassadors, after which, Mr. Deane was to return. Is Mr. Deane so little

master of address as not to know that censure may be politely conveyed by an apology? For, however Mr. Deane may chuse to represent or misrepresent the matter, the truth is, that *his* contracts and engagements in France, had so involved and embarassed Congress, that they found it necessary, and resolved to *recall* him, that is *ordered him home*, to give an account of his *own* conduct, and likewise to save him from a train of disagreeable consequences, which must have arisen to him had he continued in France. I would not be supposed to insinuate, that he might be thought *unsafe*, but *unfit*. There is a certain and necessary association of dignity between the person and the employment which perhaps did not appear when Mr. Deane was considered the Ambassador. His address to the public confirms the justness of this remark. The spirit and language of it differs exceedingly from that cool, penetrating judgment and refinement of manners and expression, which fits and is absolutely necessary in the Pleniopotentiary. His censures are coarse and vehement, and when he speaks of himself, he begs, nay, almost weeps to be believed. It was the intricacy of Mr. Deane's *own official* affairs, his multiplied contracts in France before the arrival of Dr. Franklin or any of the Commissioners: His assuming authorities, and entering into engagements, in the time of his Commercial Agency, for which he had neither commission nor instruction, and the general unsettled state of his accounts that were among the reasons that produced the motion for recalling and superseding him. Why then does Mr. Deane endeavour to lead the attention of the public to a wrong object, and to bury the real reasons, under a tumult of new and perhaps unnecessary suspicions?

Mr. Deane in the beginning of his address to the public says, "What I *write* to you I would have *said* to your Representatives; *their ears have been shut against me*, by an attention to matters, which my respect for them induces me to believe were of *more importance*."

In this paragraph Mr. Deane's excuse becomes his

accuser, and his justification is his offence, for if the greater importance of other matter is supposed and given by himself as a reason, why he was not heard, it is likewise a sufficient reason why he ought not to have complained that, "*their ears were shut*," and a good reason why he ought to have waited a more convenient time. But besides the inconsistency of this charge, there is something in it that will suffer by an enquiry, and I am sorry that Mr. Deane's imprudence has obliged me to mention a circumstance which affects his honour as a gentleman, his reputation as a man. In order to be clearly understood on this head, I am obliged to go back with Mr. Deane to the time of his quitting France on account of his being recalled. "I left Paris," says Mr. Deane, "on the 30th of March, 1777, to embark for my native country, having placed *my papers and yours in safety*." Would any body have supposed that a gentleman in the character of a public Commercial Agent, and afterwards in that of a public Minister, would return home after seeing himself both recalled and superseded, and not bring with him his papers and vouchers, and why he has done so must appear to every one exceedingly unaccountable? After Mr. Deane's arrival he had *two audiences* with Congress in August last, in neither of which did he offer the least charge against the gentlemen he has so loudly upbraided in his address to the public, neither has he yet accounted for his expenditure of public money, which, as it might have been done by a written state of accounts, might for that reason have been done at any time, and was a part of the business which required no audience.

There is something curiously intricate and evasive in Mr. Deane's saying in his address, that he left France "in *full confidence* that he should not be detained on the *business he was sent for*." And the only end it can answer to him is to furnish out a present excuse for not producing his papers. Mr. Deane had no right, either from the litteral or implied sense of the resolution itself,

to suppose that he should return to France in his former public Character, or that he was "*sent for*," as he stiles it, on any other personal business than that which related to himself. Mr. Deane must be sensible, if he will but candidly reflect, that as an Agent only, he greatly exceeded his line, and embarrassed the Congress, the continent, the army and himself.

Mr. Deane's address to the public is dated Nov. —— but without any day of the month, and here a new scene of ungenteel evasion opens. On the last day of that month, viz. the 30th, he addressed a letter to Congress signifying his intentions of returning to France and pressing to have his affairs brought to some conclusion, which, I presume, on account of the absence of his papers could not well be done; therefore Mr. Deane's Address to the public must be written before the 30th, and consequently before his letter to Congress, which carries an appearance of its being only a feint in order to make a confused diversion in his favor at the time his affairs should have come under consideration.

What favours this opinion is, that on the next day, that is, December 1st, and partly in consequence of Mr. Deane's letter to them of the 30th, the Congress entered the following resolution.

IN CONGRESS, *December* 1, 1778.

"*Resolved*, That after to-morrow Congress will meet two hours at least each evening, beginning at six o'clock, Saturday evenings excepted, until the present state of their foreign affairs be fully considered."

As an enquiry into the state of foreign affairs naturally and effectually included all and every part of Mr. Deane's, he was thereupon regularly notified by letter to attend; and on the *fourth* he wrote again to Congress, acquainting them with his having received that notification and expressed his thanks. Yet on the day following, viz. the *fifth*, he published his ex-

traordinary address in the newspapers, which, on account of its unsupported matter, the fury of its language and temper, and its inconsistency with other parts of his conduct, is incompatible with that character (which, on account of the station he had been honoured with, and the sense that should have impressed him in consequence thereof), he ought to have maintained.

On the appearance of Mr. Deane's address of the *fifth*, the public became jealously uneasy, and well they might. They were unacquainted with the train of circumstances that preceded and attended it, and were naturally led to suppose that Mr. Deane, on account of the station he had filled, must be too much a gentleman to deceive them. It was Mr. Deane's particular fortune to grow into consequence from accident. Sent to France as a Commercial Agent under the appointment of a Committee, he rose as a matter of convenience to the station of a Commissioner of Congress; and with what dignity he might fill out that character the public will judge from his conduct since, and perhaps be led to substitute convenience as an excuse for the appointment.

A delicacy of difficulties likewise arose in Congress on the appearance of the said address; for setting aside the matter, the irregular manner of it, as a proceeding, was a breach of decency, and, as Mr. Deane, after being notified to attend an enquiry into foreign affairs, had circumstantially withdrawn from that mode by appealing to the people, and at the same time said, "*their ears were shut against him*," it was therefore given as a reason by some, that to take any notice of Mr. Deane in the interim would look like suppressing his public information, if he had any to give, and consequently would imply dishonour on the House; and that as he had transferred his case to the public before it had been rejected by the Congress, he ought therefore to be left with the public till he had done with them and they with him; and that whether his information was true or not, it was an insult on the people,

because it was making them the ladder on which he insulted their representatives by an unjust complaint of neglect. Others who might anticipate the anxiety of the public, and apprehend discontents would arise from a supposed inattention, were for adopting measures to prevent them, and, of consequence, inclined to a different line of conduct; and this division of sentiment on what might be supposed the honour of the House, occasioned the then *President*, Henry Laurens, Esq., who adhered to the former opinion, to resign the chair. The majority on the sentiments was a single vote. In this place I take the liberty of remarking, for the benefit of succeeding generations, that the Honourable President before mentioned having filled that station for one year, in October last made his resignation of the Presidency at the expiration of the year, lest any example taken from his continuance might hereafter become inconvenient. I have an additional satisfaction in mentioning this useful historical anecdote, because it is done wholly unknown to the gentleman to whom it relates, or to any other gentleman in or out of Congress. He was replaced by a unanimous vote. But to return to my narration.

In the Pennsylvania Packet of December 8th, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Esq., brother to the gentleman so rudely treated in Mr. Deane's publication, and the only one now present, put in a short address to the public, requesting a suspension of their judgment till the matter could be fully investigated by those whose immediate business it became, meaning Congress. And Mr. Deane, in the paper of the 10th, published another note, in which he informs, "that the Honorable Congress did, on Saturday morning the 5th instant, assign Monday evening to hear him." But why does Mr. Deane conceal the resolution of Congress of December 1st, in consequence of which he was notified to attend regularly an enquiry into the state of foreign affairs? By so doing, he endeavours to lead the public into a belief that his being heard on Monday

was extorted purely in consequence of his address of the 5th, and that otherwise he should not have been heard at all. I presume Congress are anxious to hear him, and to have his accounts arranged and settled; and if this should be the case, why did Mr. Deane leave his papers in France, and now complain that his affairs are not concluded? In the same note Mr. Deane likewise says, "that Congress did on that evening, Monday, resolve, that Mr. Deane do report in writing, as soon as may be, his agency of their affairs in Europe, together with any intelligence respecting their foreign affairs which he may judge proper." But why does Mr. Deane omit giving the remaining part of the resolution, which says, "That Mr. Deane be informed, that if he has any thing to communicate to Congress, in the interim, of *immediate importance*, that he should be heard to-morrow evening." I can see no propriety in omitting this part, unless Mr. Deane concluded that by publishing it he might put a quick expiration to his credit, by his not being able to give the wondrous information he had threatened in his address. In the conclusion of this note, Mr. Deane likewise says, "I therefore conceive that I cannot, with propriety, continue my narrative at present. In the meantime, I submit it to the good sense of the public, whether I ought to take any notice of a publication signed Francis Lightfoot Lee, opposed to *stubborn and undeniable facts*."

Thus far, I have compared Mr. Deane with himself, and whether he has been candid or uncandid, consistent or inconsistent, I leave to the judgment of those who read it. Mr. Deane cannot have the least right to think that I am moved by any party difference or personal antipathy. He is a gentleman with whom I never had a syllable of dispute, nor with any other person upon his account. Who are his friends, his connections, or his foes, is wholly indifferent to me, and what I have written will be a secret to everybody till it comes from the press. The convulsion

which the public were thrown into by his address, will, I hope, justify my taking up a matter in which I should otherwise have been perfectly silent; and whatever may be its fate, my intention is a good one; besides which there was no other person who knew the affair sufficiently, or knowing it could consistently do it, and yet it was necessary to be done.

I shall now take a short review of what Mr. Deane calls "*stubborn and undeniable facts.*" Mr. Deane must be exceedingly unconversant both with terms and ideas not to distinguish between even a wandering probability and a fact, and between a forced implication and a proof; for admitting every circumstance of information in Mr. Deane's address to be true, they are still but circumstances, and his deductions from them are hypothetical and inconclusive.

Mr. Deane has involved a gentleman in his unlimited censure, whose fidelity and personal qualities I have been well acquainted with for three years past, and in respect to an absent injured friend, Col. Richard Henry Lee, I will venture to tell Mr. Deane, that in any stile of character in which a gentleman may be spoken of, Mr. Deane would suffer by a comparison. He has one defect which perhaps Mr. Deane is acquainted with, the misfortune of having but one hand.

The charges likewise which he advances against the Honorable Arthur and William Lee, are, to me, circumstantial evidences of Mr. Deane's unfitness for a public character; for it is the business of a foreign minister to learn other men's secrets and keep their own. Mr. Deane has given a short history of Mr. Arthur Lee and Dr. Berkenhout in France, and he has brought the last mentioned person again on the stage in America. There is something in this so exceedingly weak, that I am surprised that any one who would be thought a man of sense should risk his reputation upon such a frivolous tale; for the event of the story, if any can be produced from it, is greatly against himself.

He says that a correspondence took place in France between Dr. Berkenhout and Mr. Lee; that Mr. Lee shew part of the correspondence to Dr. Franklin and himself, and that in order to give the greater weight to Dr. Berkenhout's remarks he gave them to understand that Dr. Berkenhout was in the secrets of the British Ministry. What Mr. Deane has related this for, or what he means to infer from it, I cannot understand; for the political inference ought to be, that if Mr. Lee really thought that Dr. Berkenhout was in the secrets of the British Ministry, he was therefore the very person with whom Mr. Lee ought, as an Ambassador, to cultivate a correspondence, and introduce to his colleagues, in order to discover what those secrets were, that they might be transmitted to America; and if Mr. Deane acted otherwise, he unwisely mistook his own character. However, this I can assure Mr. Deane, upon my knowledge, that more and better information has come from Mr. Lee than ever came from himself; and how, or where he got it, is not a subject fit for public enquiry, unless Mr. Deane means to put a stop to all future informations. I can likewise tell Mr. Deane, that Mr. Lee was particularly commissioned by a certain body, and that under every sacred promise of inviolable secrecy, to make discoveries in England, and transmit them. Surely Mr. Deane must have left his discretion with his papers, or he would see the imprudence of his present conduct.

In the course of Mr. Deane's narrative he mentions Dr. Berkenhout again. "In September last, (says he) I was informed that the Doctor Berkenhout who I have before mentioned was in gaol in this city. I confess I was surprised, considering what I have already related, that this man should have the audacity to appear in the capital of America." But why did not Mr. Deane confront Dr. Berkenhout while he was here? Why did he not give information to Congress or to the Council before whom he was examined, and

by whom he was discharged and sent back for want of evidence against him? Mr. Deane was the only person that knew any thing of him, and it looks very unfavorable in him that he was silent when he should have spoke, if he had anything to say, and now he is gone, has a great deal to tell, and that about a nothing. "I immediately (says Mr. Deane) *sate myself about* the measures which I conceived necessary *to investigate his plans and designs.*" This is indeed a trifling excuse, for it wanted no great deal of *setting about*, the whole secret as well as the means being with himself, and half an hour's information might have been sufficient. What Mr. Deane means by "*investigating his plans and designs*," I cannot understand, unless he intended to have had the Doctor's nativity cast by a conjurer. Yet this trifling round-about story is one of Mr. Deane's "stubborn and undeniable facts." However, it is thus far a fact, that Mr. Deane kept it a secret till the man was gone.

He likewise entertains us with a history of what passed at New-York between Doctor Berkenhout and Governor Johnstone, but as he must naturally think that his readers must wonder how he came by such knowledge, he prudently supplies the defect by saying "that Providence in whom we put our trust *unfolded it to me;*" *revealed it, I suppose.* As to what Dr. Berkenhout was, or what he came for, is a matter of very little consequence to us. He appeared to be a man of a good moral character, of a studious turn of mind, and genteel behaviour, and whether he had whimsically employed himself, or was employed on a foolish errand by others, is a business not worth our enquiring after; he got nothing here, and to send him back was both necessary and civil. He introduced himself to General Maxwell at Elizabeth-Town, as knowing of Mr. Arthur Lee; the General wrote a letter of information to Col. R. H. Lee, who presented the same to Congress. But it does not appear that Mr. Deane moved in the matter till a considerable time after

the Doctor was sent off, and then Mr. Deane put a series of queries in the news-paper to know why he was let go. I little thought at that time that the queries were Mr. Deane's, as they really appeared to me to be the produce of some little mind.

Mr. Deane likewise tells us that Mr. A. Lee was suspected by some of our best friends because of his acquaintance with Lord Shelburne; and perhaps some Mr. Deane in England will find out that Lord Shelburne ought to be suspected because of his acquaintance with Mr. Lee. Mr. Deane appears to me neither to understand characters nor business, or he would not mention Lord Shelburne on such an occasion, whose uniform and determined opposition to the Ministry appears to be known to every body but Mr. Deane. Mr. Deane has given us a quotation from a letter which he never saw, and had it likewise from a gentleman in France who had never seen it, but who had heard it from a correspondent in England to whom it was *not* sent, which correspondent had seen the person to whom it *was* sent; and this traditionary story is another of Mr. Deane's *stubborn and undeniable facts.* But even supposing the quotation to be true, the only inference from it is naturally this, "That the *sooner England makes peace with America the better it will be for her.*" Had the intimation been given before the treaty with France was signed, it might have been fully censured; but, being given after, it can have but *one* meaning, and that a *clear* one. He likewise says that Charles Fox "declared pointedly in the House of Commons" that the treaty between France and America was signed; and as Charles Fox knows Lord Shelburne, and Lord Shelburne Mr. Lee, therefore Mr. Deane infers, "as a stubborn and undeniable fact," that Mr. Lee must tell it. Does Mr. Deane know that nothing can be long a secret in a court, especially where the countries are but twenty miles apart, and that Charles Fox, from his ingratiating manners, is almost universally known in France?

Mr. Deane likewise supposes that William Lee, Esquire, continues an Alderman of London, and either himself or some other gentleman since, under the signature of Observator, says that "he has *consulted* on this *point* the Royal Kalendar or Annual Register," and finds it true. To *consult* a Kalendar to find out a name must be a learned consultation indeed! An Alderman of London is neither a place at Court nor a place of profit; and if the city chuses not to expel him, it is a proof they are very good whigs; and this is the only proved fact in Mr. Deane's Address. But there is, through the whole of it, a barbarous, unmanly, and unsupported attack on absent characters, which are, perhaps, far superior to his own; an eagerness to create suspicions wherever he can catch an opportunity; an overstrained desire to be believed; and an affected air of giving importance to trifles. He accuses Mr. Lee of incivility to the French nation. Mr. Lee, if I can judge by his writing, is too much both of a scholar and a gentleman to deserve such a censure. He might with great justice complain against Mr. Deane's contracts with individuals; for we are fully sensible that the gentlemen which have come from France since the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee in that country, are of a different rank to the generality of those with whom Mr. Deane contracted when alone. And this observation will, I believe, explain that charge no ways to Mr. Deane's honour.

Upon the whole, I cannot help considering this publication as one of the most irrational performances I ever met with. He seems in it to pay no regard to individual safety, nor cares who he may involve in the consequences of his quarrel. He mentions names without restraint, and stops at no discovery of persons. A public man, in Mr. Deane's former character, ought to be as silent as the grave; for who would trust a person with a secret who shewed such a talent for revealing? Under the pretence of doing good he is doing mischief, and, in a tumult of his own creating, will expose and distress himself.

Mr. Deane's Address was calculated to catch several sorts of people: The rash, because they are fond of fiery things; the curious, because they are fond of curiosities; the weak, because they easily believe; the good, because they are unsuspicious; the tory, because it comforts his discontent; the high whig, because he is jealous of his rights; and the man of national refinement, because it obscurely hints at national dishonor. The clamor, it is true, has been a popular one, and so far as it is the sign of a *living* principle, it is pleasant to see it; but when once understood it will amount to nothing, and with the rapidity that it rose it will descend.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1778.

P. S. The writer of this has been waited on by a gentleman whom he supposes, by his conversation, to be a friend of Mr. Deane's, and whom Mr. Deane, but not any other person, is welcome to know whenever he pleases. The gentleman informed the writer that some persons, whom he did not mention, had threatened most extraordinary vengeance against him (the writer of this piece) for taking the matter up; the writer asked, what, whether right or wrong? and likewise informed the gentleman, that he had done it solely with a view of putting the public right in a matter which they did not understand—that the threaten served to encrease the necessity, and was therefore an excitement to his doing it. The gentleman, after expressing his good opinion of, and personal respect for, the writer, withdrew.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 15, 1778.

CARD OF MATTHEW CLARKSON.

MR. DUNLAP,—Be pleased to inform the Public that Common Sense will be answered by a person

under the signature of Plain Truth, on Saturday next. Plain Truth contends to prove that almost the whole of the elaborate address to Mr. Deane is a gross misrepresentation of facts. Whether this proceeds from ignorance or a worse cause, the Public will hereafter determine. The Writer's name will be left with the Printer.

PLAIN TRUTH.

Wednesday, 16th December, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Packet, December 17, 1778.

WILLIAM LEE'S OFFICE OF ALDERMAN OF LONDON.

To the Printer of the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

Your inserting the following extract from the sixth article of the Confederation of the United States of America, will, I have no doubt, enable the citizens of America fully to judge of the propriety or impropriety of employing William Lee, Esq., an Alderman of the city of London, as an Ambassador of the United States of America at a foreign Court.

"Nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatsoever, from any King, Prince or foreign State."

PLAIN SENSE.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 19, 1778.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS PAINE.

MR. DUNLAP,—In your paper of Thursday last is the following Note :—"*Be pleased to inform the public, "that Common Sense will be answered by a person "under the signature of Plain Truth on Saturday "next. Plain Truth contends to prove that almost the*

"*whole of the elaborate Address to Mr. Deane is a* "*gross misrepresentation of facts. Whether this pro-* "*ceeds from ignorance or a worse cause, the public will* "*hereafter determine.*"

As Common Sense has dates of Mr. Deane's letters, and the dates of the resolutions of Congress, in his hands, and rests his proof on those dates and letters, and the resolutions they refer to, he, therefore, says it is impossible to prove him wrong; and, feeling that perfect tranquility which arises from conscious integrity, he is wholly indifferent who or how many may reply, or what they may say. He has not, nor ever had, any interested connection with either Mr. Deane or Mr. Lee, nor ever corresponded with either of them; and whether Mr. Deane is wrong, or Mr. Lee wrong, or both wrong, is alike to him as to personal favor or interest. He *believes* the whole affair to be an inflammatory bubble, thrown among the public to answer both a mercantile end and a private pique. He is well acquainted with, and truly ashamed of, the illiberal combination that was formed a few nights ago for purposes dishonorable to themselves; and he is the more surprized because *one*, who, he believes, was on that affair, ought to have acted a direct contrary part.

Common Sense could have said a great deal more in his first address if he had thought proper, but as he expected to be replied to, and even abused, by those who had an immediate interest in the matter, or a revenge to gratify, he therefore reserved himself at that time; and the remainder, which will be his *last on this bubble of the day*, will appear in a succeeding paper, after which he shall employ himself on more important matters, if any thing can be more important than to prevent a public from being misled and made tools of.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, Dec. 18, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 21, 1778.

Matthew Clarkson's Reply to Thomas Paine.

Strictures on the Address of Common Sense to Mr. Deane, published in Mr. Dunlap's Paper of the 15th of December.

> Hector adest secumque *Deos* in prælia ducit
> Quoque ruit, non tu solum terreris, *Ulisses*
> Sed fortes etiam.—Ovid.

> *Favor'd by Gods* (to whom all mortals yield),
> The mighty *Hector* rushes to the field,
> And braves the foe: at his tremendous sight
> Not you alone, O Deane! decline the fight:
> More ancient heroes, list'ning from afar,
> *Crouch at the name*, and dread th' impending war.

To Common Sense.

When your intention of entering the lists was announced to the public, various were the opinions entertained by the curious concerning the object and stile of your proposed address. Such as knew you only by your *nom de guerre*, or travelling name, imagined from the patriotic effusions in some of your former productions, that the object of your address would be to express your gratitude to Mr. Deane for his useful and interesting information; particularly in making the public acquainted with the various and incompatible offices held by four gentlemen of the same family; and that you would have expressed your sentiments on this matter with the honest zeal of a patriot who makes measures, not men, the objects of his discussion. Others who professed themselves better acquainted with the circumstances and motives of your coming to this country, of the manner in which you had by the violence of the storm and the puffs of your friends been elevated to an important office, averred that the object of your address would be, if possible, to throw Mr. Deane under a cloud, and to cast a gloss on the character and conduct of those whose connections and adherents you deemed yourself indebted to, not only

for the acquisition of your office, but for your future enjoyment of it; and that the language you would use would be worthy of the profession you have been brought up in and the nature of the contest you meant to adopt. Your elaborate performance has since appeared. The public are now to determine which class of the persons I have alluded to were right in their predictions. As this matter is of some importance, not only as it respects the present subject, but the degree of credibility which you are intitled to in future, I shall take the liberty to make some strictures upon your studied address, in order to enable the honest and reflecting part of the community to form a right judgment. Should I, in doing this, avoid those flowers of rhetoric, those *coarse and vehemeut expressions* which yourself (with what justice the public can easily determine) censure in Mr. Deane, and yet adopt, you will not, I flatter myself, impute it to a contempt of the great talents you possess in this line, but to a difference of education and profession in the present writer, and to the motives which call forth his pen. Besides, he must honestly confess that, exclusive of these considerations, his pride would restrain him in this respect. Your pre-eminence in these great accomplishments of controversial writing is so generally felt and acknowledged, that to attempt to rival you would serve only to expose my own inferiority, and to encrease the reputation of an antagonist already formidable, even with the *sound of a name.* My path shall be different; and I will take for my guides plain truth and purity of intention.

The writer of the address introduces himself with a very solemn air of official importance, without doubt to make a favorable impression on the minds of the public (often too credulous in believing whatever comes from a person in office, without considering his character and views), and to strike the object of his animadversion with such a panic as might bereave him of the faculty of making a reply. He says "he is no

stranger to Mr. Deane's negociations and contracts in France, his difference with his colleagues, the reasons of his return to America, and the matters which have occurred since."

From the manner in which this is expressed, and the general spirit of the address, it is easy to perceive it to be the intention of the writer to insinuate that Mr. Deane's negociations have neither been honorable or advantageous ; that the differences which subsisted are imputable to Mr. Deane ; and that Congress thought him an unsafe person and meant to disgrace him when they directed him to return. With respect to Mr. Deane's negociations, the people of America feel so sensibly the good effects arising from them, that it is almost unnecessary to say anything to destroy this insinuation. As Mr. Deane, however, for some time acted in a separate capacity, it may not be improper to remark, that when he arrived in France, the opinions of people there and in other parts of Europe, not only with respect to the merits, but of the probable issue of the contest, had by no means acquired that degree of consistency which they had at the time of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Arthur Lee's arrival in that kingdom, which was six months after that of Mr. Deane, who arrived early in June, 1776. During the period of time I have mentioned, Mr. Deane, tho' a stranger to the manners and language of the French nation, without funds, disappointed of promised remittances, unsupported by public credit, embarassed by the intrigues, vigilance, and influence of the British Court and Minister, and not less so by the public calamities on this side the water, and the want of regular intelligence from Congress (a circumstance which afforded our enemies an opportunity to aggravate them) — I say, under all these perplexities (and greater no public Minister ever labored under), before the first of December after his arrival, he had formed and cultivated the esteem of a valuable political and commercial connection, not only in France, but in other parts of Europe, laid the foun-

dation of a public loan, procured thirty thousand stand of arms, thirty thousand suits of cloaths, more than two hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great amount of tents and military stores; provided vessels to transport them, and, in spite of various and almost inconceivable obstructions, great part of these articles were shipped, and arrived in America before the commencement of the operations of the campaign of 1777: In consequence of which supplies the northern army was in a great degree enabled to acquire honor to themselves, and to insure the independence of their country; and that under the command of General Washington, to make a better stand against an army superior in numbers, discipline, and military apparatus than could otherways have been expected, notwithstanding the bravery of the troops and the intrepidity, patience and military knowledge of their illustrious chief. A tree is best known by its fruits; the writer, who, from an acquaintance with gentlemen of veracity in a public character, has had the means of being acquainted with all those circumstances, avows them to be facts, and defies Common Sense or any other person to disprove them. Were other proofs wanting us, Mr. Deane's abilities and skill as a negociator; the letters of that eminent patriot Dr. Franklin to Congress, in which he explains the difficulties of Mr. Deane's situation, and bears testimony to his skill, fidelity, and activity as a public Minister; the letter of his Excellency the Count de Vergennes, written, by order of his Most Christian Majesty, to Congress, speaking of Mr. Deane in the most honourable manner; and the letter from that Minister in his own character, written not in the language of a courtier, but in that of a person who felt what he expressed, would be sufficient to counterbalance not only the opinions of the writer of the address to Mr. Deane, but even of characters of more influence, who may vainly endeavor to circulate notions of his insignificancy and unfitness for a public

Minister. The writer, whose name is left with the printer, has seen the letters which he alludes to, and doubts not, from Mr. Deane's former declarations, that he will, at a proper season, lay them before the public.

With respect to Mr. Deane's contracts (by which term I suppose the writer means Mr. Deane's agreements with several French Officers) I shall shortly observe, that I have been credibly informed, that it was the opinion of the best military judges in France and in other parts of Europe most attached to the cause of America, that it was essential to our success to invite into our service some valuable officers, especially in the line of Engineers and of the Artillery; that Mr. Deane was frequently advised and importuned on this subject; and I am authorized to say, that from this conviction, and from a necessity there was of gratifying the wishes of several persons of influence, in order to facilitate the procuring the cannon and other military stores, that Mr. Deane was induced to make the contract with Monsieur De Coudray and the Officers who accompanied him. These gentlemen, together with those gallant and disinterested noblemen the Marquis De La Fayette, Count Pulaski, and those experienced officers the Baron De Kalb, General Conway, and Le Conte Mauroy, comprehend (a few others excepted) all the Officers with whom Mr. Deane made any agreement.

From an intimate acquaintance with a gentleman of Congress, long a Member of the Board of War, I have been informed of the pains which had been taken to select the best officers which could be procured in France, not only in the line of Artillery but of engineers (without going higher than the rank of a Captain), and I have often heard, that it was the opinion of the best Judges, that a more valuable set of officers never engaged in any foreign service. It is likewise an incontestable fact, that Congress, from a conviction of the utility of Monsieur De Coudray's officers, en-

deavoured (when too late) to retain most of them in their service. Out of the few who have staid there is not one who has not distinguished himself, and in consequence obtained a higher rank than what was stipulated for by Mr. Deane. Amongst these officers I mention with pleasure the gallant Fleury, and the brave but unfortunate Touzard—Names dear, not only to the soldiery, but to the citizens of America, and which, being recorded with honor on the Journals of Congress, will be remembered by posterity when the name of the writer of Common Sense will be utterly extinct. With respect to the general officers I have mentioned, my feeble testimony can no more add to their merit than the oblique insinuations of the writer of the address can detract from it. I am authorized to say they were known, beloved and respected in France before their arrival in this country, and since their residence in America, their military and other virtues have inspired the same sentiments. I shall make but one more remark, and shall then conclude my strictures on what this writer says with respect to Mr. Deane's agreements with foreign officers. "Mr. Lee," he says, "might with great justice complain of Mr. Deane's contracts with individuals, for *all* are fully sensible that the gentlemen who came from France, since the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee in that country, are of a different rank with those with whom Mr. Deane contracted, when acting separately." When this writer makes use of the term We, it is to be supposed, that, in imitation of Princes and other exalted characters, he means *I*, for no other person but himself who enquires into the matter is sensible of what he says. It would puzzle him extremely to point out the officers of rank with whom agreements were made by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, much more to justify the comparison he mentions to the disparagement of the officers contracted for by Mr. Deane in his separate capacity. I think it, however, unnecessary to say anything further on this subject. The gentlemen

on whom this oblique reflection is cast are the guardians of their own honor: They can best tell whether the writer is of sufficient importance to merit their notice. The rays of their resentment would, in my opinion, serve only to lengthen the blaze of a character, which, though it has for some time flash'd, must soon expire and become nauseous to the world.

As to Mr. Deane's difference with his colleagues (by which term no other persons can be understood but Dr. Franklin and Mr. Arthur Lee) this is a discovery which, if it is deficient in truth, has some merit at least on the score of novelty. I never before heard any person in the least acquainted with our foreign transactions, give the least intimation of Mr. Deane's disagreement with Dr. Franklin ; as the Secretary of the Committee of foreign affairs is a peculiar character this must certainly have been revealed to him by some special act of grace ; for I will venture to affirm, from the most respectable authorities, that neither the Congress or the Committee of foreign affairs, his lords and masters, know a syllable about the matter.

This is an attempt to deceive the public, and to take the weight of that illustrious character, Doctor Franklin, out of Mr. Deane's scale ; the fact is notoriously otherwise ; these gentlemen lived together in the strictest amity, in the same house at Paris, till Mr. Deane set out for Toulon, to come to America ; and I have heard Mr. Deane declare that during this period there was not a single incident, either in political or private life, to interrupt or imbitter their connection. There was (it is too lamentable a truth) a difference among the Commissioners at the court of France, but it was a difference of the honorable Arthur Lee with his Colleagues Doctor Franklin and Mr. Deane ; if dependence can be put in an arithmetic ratio the chances are two to one in favour of the gentleman last mentioned ; however it is not my intention to discuss this matter, it is sufficient for my present purpose to prove either that the writer, notwithstanding

the official advantages he boasts of, is ignorant of the subject he writes on, or that he attempts to deceive the public; in either of which cases I am afraid, not only his *common sense*, but his *common honesty*, will be called in question. Before I dismiss the gentleman the public will determine which is most in fault, his head or his heart.

The writer of the address hath laboured to prove that Mr. Deane attempts to deceive the public, by making them believe, that when he was sent for, it was only to inform Congress of the state of their foreign affairs, and that he had full confidence that he should not be long detained. It is true, that neither the resolution of Congress of December the 8th, 1777, recalling Mr. Deane, nor the letter transmitting this resolution, expressed any other intention; but the enlightened author of the address has discovered that it was meant to censure and disgrace him, and that he ought to have been so much of the courtier as to know that this simple resolution and the letter which accompanyed it meant to inform him that he had assumed authority and entered into engagements for which he had neither commission nor instruction, that his own official affairs were intricated, and that he was to undergo a strict scrutiny, and to come prepared with papers and vouchers to all the public accounts in Europe. What a happiness it is to live and converse with *great men!* to have an office at *court!* and to understand the *courtly language!* Were the author merely endued with the gift of common sense (which is the appellation he delights in), he certainly could never have made such a progress in that occult language. I have been informed by gentlemen who were members of Congress at the time when this transaction took place, and whose honor and veracity can be depended on, that no other reason was ever assigned in that Assembly as a motive of Mr. Deane's recall, but the impracticability of complying at the opening of a campaign, and against the representations of several

officers, with the agreement made with Monsieur De Coudray and the officers who accompanied him; and consequently a supposed necessity of not exposing Mr. Deane, on the return of these officers to France, to a situation distressing to himself, and perhaps injurious to the welfare and honor of these states, the peculiar embarrassments he was under in that kingdom, and his talents, activity and zeal were at that time generally acknowledged; even the gentlemen who were not of Mr. Deane's intimate acquaintance, either in political or private life, declared they lamented the disagreeable necessity they were under, and some of them expressed their doubts whether his recall would not be more injurious to the public than any circumstance whatever, which might happen should he even stay in France, after his contract was disavowed by Congress. On conversing with Mr. Deane on this subject, he communicated to me a letter, written by an honorable Member of Congress, in answer to one from Doctor Franklin on the subject of his recall, in which that venerable patriot explains the embarrassment of Mr. Deane's situation, bears testimony to his services, and expresses his apprehensions that he has enemies. The letter is as follows :—

York-Town, May 10, 1778.

Sir,—Your favours of December 21st I read in Congress, that it might have the operation which you benevolently, generously, and *honourably* intended; but really, Sir, when you say you perceive that he (Mr. Deane) *has Enemies*, I am not inclined to determine, that you form your opinion from the proceedings of Congress alone, to which you refer in the beginning of your letter.

You can have no adequate idea of *the bold claims, and even threats, which were made against Congress, inducing the necessity of disavowing Mr. Deane's agreement, and the consequent more disagreeable necessity of recalling him.* You will have seen by past letters of

the Committee how formidable some have thought the enmity of disappointed foreign officers would prove both to Mr. Deane and to these States. *That gentleman's embarrassments have always been considered as apologies for his compliances; and you may rely upon it that imagined, if not real, necessity alone has governed the decisions of Congress with respect to it, and that he will find he commands general regard for the manner in which he has conducted our affairs abroad.* He is exceedingly wanted here to explain some things, especially the connection with Mr. Beaumarchais; and in my opinion he may return with *renewed honour in commission to Holland.* Folger is to be dismissed with his expenses. I wish some explanation may procure him a gratuity.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. L.

The Hon. Doctor Franklin.

This letter needs no comment. It must flash conviction on the minds of the public, not only on the motive which induced Mr. Deane's recall, but even with respect to the sentiments entertained of his public character so late as the tenth of May last; and what gives it a greater weight is, that it was written by a gentleman of the Committee of foreign affairs, who, acting as Chairman to it, transmitted to Mr. Deane the order for his return; and who, tho' I believe him too honest a man to be an *enemy* to Mr. Deane, is not amongst the class of those who are generally stiled *his friends.*

The writer of the address may, indeed, say that this letter too is *courtly*, tho' it is a *private*, not a *public*, letter. That persons of Dr. Franklin's and Mr. Deane's knowledge of the world ought to have construed it cabalistically, and considered it as a censure, not as an acknowledgment of Mr. Deane's service; and that it was the fixt determination of Congress never to think of employing him again in a public

character. But I have as yet too favourable an opinion not only of the writer, but of those with whom he is most intimately connected in political and private life, to think that they could have acted with such consummate hypocrisy, not only in their frequent public declarations, but even in a private letter; and if any thing could possibly erase this idea, it would be the representations of the writer of the address, who affects to write under the sanction of the Committee of foreign affairs, and as if he had been thoroughly initiated into the arcana of our public affairs. To suppose what this writer asserts to be true, would prove that we had in our infant state a system of political corruption and deceit unparalleled even in governments long established. I will not, even for a moment, entertain an idea so debasing to our legislatures; and the public ought to consider all which the writer of the address has said of the motives of Mr. Deane's recall as the mere effusions of his own fertile imagination. I shall make but one more remark on this part of the address, which is rendered necessary, because the writer endeavours to throw out a suggestion that Mr. Deane is considered by the Congress as a defaulter of public money. He says, "Mr. Deane has not yet accounted for his expenditure of public money, which, as it might have been done by a written state of accounts, might for that reason have been done at any time, and was a part of the business which required no audience." As neither the resolution directing Mr. Deane's return, nor any letter whatsoever to him, public or private, informed him, previous to his quitting France, that it was expected that he should settle his own and the joint account of the Commissioners, can it be supposed that an Assembly so wise and so conversant with the forms of business as Congress would let their intentions on so important a point be guessed at by implication? Notwithstanding which, the public may be assured it is a fact that Mr. Deane, not long after his arrival, laid before Congress a general state of the re-

ceipts and expenditures of the monies which passed thro' his hands and those of the Commissioners jointly. It is true, it was not accompanied with all the vouchers for the particular expenditures; neither was it practicable, for the only notification which Mr. Deane received of his recall was on the fourth of March, and by it he was directed to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America. He left Paris for Toulon on the 31st day of March, and the whole of the period of time between the notice of his recall and his actual departure was taken up by objects of the most important political concern. Exclusive of this consideration, a vast proportion of the money expended was vested in articles which, at the time of Mr. Deane's sailing from Toulon, were but just shipt for America, and even some vessels sailed after his departure. Any person in the least conversant with business knows the time which is requisite for calling in manufacturers' and tradesmen's bills, and to prepare accounts and vouchers for a final settlement. These surely are conclusive reasons for his immediate compliance with the orders of Congress, especially when it is considered (which is a notorious fact) that the Court of Versailles were anxious to have Mr. Deane's presence and councils on board that fleet, which was generously sent over to our assistance. And yet what should have been *his praise* is maliciously perverted to his prejudice! I am assured by gentlemen of character that Mr. Deane fully explained this matter in his audience before Congress, and has by repeated letters expressed his anxiety that Congress would hear and finally determine on his conduct, in order that he might return to France to adjust and settle the public accounts in which he had been concerned.

Having thus examined what the writer of the address hath insinuated, with respect to Mr. Deane's negotiations and contracts, his difference with his colleagues, and the reasons for his recall, all of which he says *are to him familiar subjects* (by which he can

certainly mean nothing else than his intentions of treating them with whatever familiarity will best suit his designs), I shall examine, whether he is better supported by facts, when he pretends to discuss the matters, which have occurred since his arrival, and especially when he pretends that Mr. Deane has not only been disrespectful to Congress (whose true dignity I know he wishes to support), but uncandid, when he says, that tho' he had frequently solicited a further audience of Congress, his request had not been complied with, therefore in a critical situation of affairs, he was induced to lay matters before the public, which, otherwise, he would have communicated to Congress.

To prove this he says, "That Mr. Deane's address to the public is dated in November, without the day of the month; that in the last day of that month, he addressed a letter to Congress of the 30th of Novem ber, signifying his intention of returning to France, and pressing to have his affairs brought to a conclusion; that on December the first, and partly in consequence of Mr. Deane's letter to them of the 30th, Congress entered into the following resolution."

IN CONGRESS, *December 1, 1778.*

Resolved, That after to-morrow Congress will meet, two hours at least each evening, beginning at six o'clock, Saturday evenings excepted, until the present state of their foreign affairs be fully considered.

"That Mr. Deane expressed his thanks to Congress for his notification to attend, yet on the day following, namely the fifth, he published his extraordinary address in the newspapers," on which in his usual stile he bestows a number of flowers of rhetoric, culled in that garden in which he has been nurtured; hear how a plain tale will set him down. Mr. Deane, it is true, wrote his address previous to his application to Congress of the 30th of November, but determined, notwithstanding some forcible reasons (at which the

vigilant part of the public are at no loss to guess), not to publish it if he could be assured of an early audience from Congress. The resolution of Congress of December the first, quoted by the writer of the address, and upon which he says Mr. Deane was notified to attend, was never even in substance, much less in form, communicated to him. It has been said by those who pretend to be well informed, that on a motion made to communicate it to Mr. Deane, it was opposed and rejected; but for the truth of this the author will not vouch: the first notice Mr. Deane ever received in answer to his letter of the 30th November, is signed by Henry Laurens, Esq., the late President, and dated December 3, ten o'clock at night, and not received by Mr. Deane until the fourth; the President then informed Mr. Deane that "he had received directions to intimate to him, that the house having concluded to take into consideration, as on this evening, the state of their foreign affairs, such branches as Mr. Deane had been particularly concerned in would in due course become subjects of deliberation, without any avoidable and unnecessary delay," let the reader determine whether this is, even in substance, a notification of the resolution of December first, and an order thereupon for Mr. Deane to attend.

Mr. Deane, it is said, "expressed his thanks for this notification;" the substance of his letter dated December 4th is to express his thanks to the President, personally for his attention to his letter, and to inform him at the same time, that in the intimation given him of the resolution of Congress, he did not find any time fixed for his attendance; the writer of this has seen these letters, and stakes his honor to the public, that he has given their true dates and their true substance; let the public then judge whether Mr. Deane is justly chargeable with *ungenteel evasion*, or a disrespect to that honorable body, whom every true patriot ought to support, whatever they may think of individual members. What dependence could be placed on this

loose intimation, conveyed in the President's letter, when, after many different days had been absolutely appointed for Mr. Deane's attendance, and he had been regularly notified to attend, he was still baffled in his earnest expectation of being heard? The Journals of Congress will prove what I assert. It is not for me to enter into the motives of these procrastinations; respect for the honor and justice of Congress makes me willing to believe that they flowed from superior state-considerations to which an individual must sometimes submit, however he may be affected by the consequences.

I come now to that part of the writer's address where, like the High Priest, he conducts us into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and throws aside the veil of the Temple: he says there was a *delicacy of difficulties* arose in Congress on Mr. Deane's publication: I feel likewise (to use this writer's expression) *a delicacy of difficulties*. It is an object not proper for the nice inspection of unhallowed eyes; I shall therefore be content on this point with two simple remarks—the first is, Whether it is consistent with sound policy that any individual (and especially such a one as the writer of the address) should pretend to be familiarly acquainted, not only with the division of states on important points, but with the turn of the debates, at a time when not only a great number of the constituents of Congress, but the legislatures of the different states, begin to murmur that they are not made more acquainted with many matters agitated in that Assembly, and with the line of conduct which their respective Representatives pursue. The second is, That on a supposition that it is proper that a few choice spirits should be initiated into the mysteries of the state, and that the writer of the address has given a true state of the light in which Mr. Deane's publication was considered by many in Congress, and of the motives inducing the President's resignation; whether a remark lately made by a writer, stiling himself Senex in Mr.

Dunlap's paper of the 15th is not too well founded, viz.—"That the danger now is, not that we should injure the common cause by examining the conduct of those that are in power with a decent freedom; but that under the false idea of decency we should become the suicides of our own liberties, by forbearing too long to exercise the right of speaking and writing with a decent boldness of public men and measures, which is unalienable in a citizen of a free state." I am not willing, however, to combat what are probably shadows. The gross misrepresentations in which the writer of this address has been detected, and my respect for Congress, whose honour it is our duty and interest to support, constrain me, and ought to induce the public, to believe, that what the writer of the address says on this point is the result of a vanity incident to too many, of endeavouring to wriggle themselves into importance by a pretension of being deeply versed in secrets of state.

Having thus considered the chief part of the facts relative to Mr. Deane, which have been laid before the public by this writer, I shall proceed to make some remarks on what follows; and here I think it necessary to premise, I shall simply confine myself to what he observes with respect to the famous Dr. Berkenhout, and the circumstance of Mr. William Lee's holding his office as Alderman of the city of London, subsequent to his appointment to various and important offices of the most dignified nature under the United States. My reason for declining a more minute investigation is, because I am not at present so sufficiently acquainted with a number of mysterious circumstances, respecting Mr. Lee and his connections, as to enable me to form a decisive opinion with respect to their public character; for tho' I have high confidence in Mr. Deane's candour, and a full conviction of his zeal, activity and ability, arising from a variety of strong circumstances, which my intimate acquaintance with gentlemen of a public character

has given me an opportunity of knowing; self respect and sympathetic delicacy for the character of individuals forbid my touching on ground which may be deemed either personal or malicious.

In speaking of Dr. Berkenhout, the writer of the address observes, "that as Mr. Deane must naturally think his readers must wonder how he came by such knowledge, he prudently supplies the defect by saying that Providence, in whom we put our trust, unfolded it to me," "revealed it I suppose." There is an impotent attempt at wit in this remark; but if the writer had been fortunate enough to have succeeded in this point, he would have done it at the expence of what a virtuous citizen, who wishes to inform the public mind, never would risque; I mean his reputation for candour. Whoever examines Mr. Deane's address will find, that he says, a person who went to New-York in company with Dr. Berkenhout, declar'd the substance of what he laid before the public to several persons of character and distinction in this city. It is true, the name of the person giving the information is not given, because they are said to be reasons of a peculiar nature preventing it. The writer, however, is informed by a person of strict veracity and honor that the substance (and even more) of what Mr. Deane laid before the public has since been communicated to some of the Honorable the Council of this state; and as a corroborative proof of the testimony given, Lieut. Col. Conolly, a prisoner in the jail with Dr. Berkenhout, has confessed to a gentleman in high office in this state, that Dr. Berkenhout has made a proposal to him to join Col. Butler on the frontiers, but that he declined so barbarous a proposition. And yet the writer of the address (whose skill in the science of physiognomy is, I suppose, as profound as his knowledge in the cabalistical language used by *courtiers*) represents this person as of a good *moral character*, *studious turn of mind*, and *genteel* behaviour; and adds, that even supposing *he was an emissary from the*

enemy, his release was not only *civil* but *necessary*. As this writer's system of ethics is probably far different from mine, I shall not dispute the Doctor's *morality*. To be sure it is rather inconsistent with the advice he gave, *to murther women and children*. I suppose, by the same figure of speech as the tyrant who employ'd him is called *pious*, the emissary may in the *courtly* phrase be termed *moral*. Neither shall I dispute the point of civility with him. It was, I must confess, *civility* to the extreme, and such civility as I apprehend the Honorable the Council of this state (who manifested a laudable vigilance in apprehending the Doctor) would never have shewn, had it not been for the plausible manner in which he stole amongst us, and the representations of his undoubted attachment to the liberties of America, by persons whose character for patriotism and discernment stood unsuspected. With respect to the necessity of the measure, no reasons are given. The public must remain satisfied with the *ipse dixit* of the writer of the address. This gentleman seems to have been sent amongst us for sublime discoveries. An ordinary genius would have imagined that the enemy would have been more effectually restrained from their plan of sending emissaries amongst us to sap our political integrity, and to rouse the suspicions of our new ally, by hanging Dr. Berkenhout, or by keeping him in close durance. But the writer of the address, by conversing with persons of the *Court*, being himself a *Courtier*, and well versed in *the occult language and views of Courtiers*, has discovered that this rude republican practice is not only *uncivil* but *unnecessary*—it may be so ; our legislators will determine; but if it is, I hope that great rogues may not escape, whilst small ones submit to fate ; and that all the penal statutes relative to spies and emissaries may be repealed, especially the resolution of Congress published at the end of their code of martial law, which subjects to military force and punishment by death persons apprehended and convicted as emissaries from

the enemy, not being citizens of any of the United States.

In reading this passage, I feel a struggle in my mind betwixt the contending passions of contempt and indignation. O my Countrymen! where is fled that spirit of vigilance and public jealousy, which protected you against the various artifices of your enemies during this contest? Is the exercise of it less necessary at this time than it was heretofore? Trust me, it is not. How will our enemies rejoice, what will our allies think? How will firm and determined whigs feel, they who have even risqued their lives for the establishment of our independence, when they see persons, who are avowedly endeavouring to seduce us from it, not only escape, but be protected and even advocated in our public papers, and by persons in public characters. I shall not give a loose to what I feel on this occasion. I wish not to excite a turbulent but a watchful spirit.

The writer, after mentioning Lord Shelburne's determined opposition to the British Ministry, as a proof of his whiggism (which even in the British sense of that term is a very inadequate, and in the American sense no proof at all), proceeds, if possible to divert the public from a fact, stated by Observator, which, if true, cannot be defended or even palliated by the warmest Advocates of Mr. William Lee. "The citizens of London are too good whigs to deprive Mr. William Lee of his office of Alderman of the City of London," says the writer of the address. Mr. William Lee is too good a whig, and of too grateful a disposition to counteract the opinion of his whig friends in London, and to turn himself out, notwithstanding there is a small inconsistency in one person's owing allegiance to two foreign states at the same time, which must inevitably be the case where two offices under different governments are vested in one person, tho' one of the offices should not be held under the crown, but originate in the choice of the people; for

shame, Common Sense! for shame! How great is the triumph of truth and virtue, when a writer who justly acquired fame, when his talents were exercised on public principles, sinks in understanding, genius and composition, almost below the level of hireling writers, when he draws his pen with a view of deceiving, not informing the public mind, and of advocating measures, not because they are right, but because he may deem it expedient for a temporary system of politics.

The writer asks pardon of the respectable Public for taking up so much of their time. He trusts, however, that the nature of the subject will plead his excuse; he has studiously avoided that cavilling and controversial spirit, which the honestest of public writers are too apt to fall into. Whoever reads with attention the address to Mr. Deane will find that the general scope of it is to throw a cloud on a deserving public character, under the solemn air of a person, who asserts himself to be deeply conversant in state secrets, and to affect to treat as of no consequence matters which require the probe of our state-physicians. The object of the person who answers, has been to take off from that self-importance and literary pride, which the writer of the address has assumed, to dispel the mists of false prejudices, which he has endeavoured to cast over the public judgment, and to rouse the minds of the people and of our legislators to a spirit of vigilance, attention and justice, absolutely essential to the very existence of a free government.

The palm of witticism and quaint conceit he will not contest with this writer; they compose a garland of such growth as he is not ambitious to adorn his brow with; neither will he enter into a further literary correspondence with him, considering the gross misrepresentations in which he has been detected. He is not a writer from *inclination* much less by *profession;* but seeing that the public were likely to be deceived with respect to a character which he shall esteem

deserving till better proofs than insinuations and invectives are brought against it, and knowing that Mr. Deane considers himself under a restraint of publishing at present, he esteemed it his duty as a citizen and a friend to stand forth, altho' in a character new and disagreeable.

Any other animadversions with respect either to Mr. Deane or the other Commissioners, he shall leave to the discussion of Mr. Deane, who, when his situation will with propriety permit, he doubts not will give to his countrymen a candid state of his public mission.

PLAIN TRUTH.*

P. S. I cannot help expressing my concern at threats said to have been thrown out against the author of the address, on account of his misrepresentations. Such a procedure would answer the end he aims at, because to judge from his postscript, he wishes (like some zealots in religion) to have himself considered as threatened and persecuted for the sake of truth.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 21, 1778.

* New York, Jan. 23, 1779. Mr. Edmund Seaman's respectful Compliments to Col. Webb and has sent him under cover a Philadelphia Paper of 21st ulto., just received by Miss Schemerhorn from Morris Town, containing a piece under the signature of "Plain Truth," being strictures on the address of Common Sense to Mr. Deane, which he thinks a very candid, masterly and unanswerable performance, much to Mr. Deane's credit, and highly exposing the author of Common Sense, which it is more than probable Col. Webb has already been furnished with, as its of an old date, however should he not, it will give Mr. Seaman pleasure in sending the Col. any papers that have a tendency to remove the prejudices that have been attempted to be raised against the Character of a gentleman so nearly related to him as Mr. Deane.

Correspondence of Col. Samuel B. Webb, edited by Worthington C. Ford, II. 149.

The publication of Silas Deane's letter (accusing the four Virginia Lees, two of whom are Ambassadors in Europe from, and the other two Delegates in, the Rebel Congress) has provoked Mr. Paine, the avowed author of all the pieces signed Common Sense, to attack the writer in a series of prolix publications. Mr. Matthew Clarkson has replied in behalf of Mr. Deane, under the signature of Plain Truth ; besides these, there are several minor scribblers engaged on each side. All parties are egregiously exposed, and much dirt is thrown ; so that, unless the Congress should interfere, and prohibit a continuation of hostilities, this dispute will be soon ek'd to the duration of a Bangorian controversy.

The Royal Gazette, New York, Jan. 13, 1779.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 21st December, 1778.

Sir,—In obedience to the orders of Congress of the 7th inst., I have now committed to writing as particular an account of my agency of their affairs in Europe as my situation will permit, and wait the pleasure of Congress to lay the same before them. And I have only to request that the letters written by the Commissioners to Congress, or the Committee of Foreign Affairs, during my agency or since, which refer thereto, ordered to be read in Congress, may be laid on their table, when I shall have the honor to be admitted. I request this, from my not having the copies of those letters with me, to which the accounts I am directed to give refer; but, recollecting the substance of them, I have judged it unnecessary to trouble Congress for copies of them at present, as it might cause some delay; and I am anxious to complete as soon as possible the information expected from me. I flatter myself that an early day will be fixed; and if I may take the liberty to mention one, I wish it may be tomorrow if consistent with the business of Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, &c.,

Silas Deane.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 177.

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Tuesday, December 22, 1778. A letter of the 21st from Mr. S. Deane was read, informing Congress that he has committed to writing as particular an account of his agency of their affairs in Europe as his situation will permit him, and that he waits the pleasure of Congress to lay the same before them.

Ordered, That Mr. Deane be informed that Con-

gress will meet this evening at 6 o'clock, to receive his information, and that he attend at that time.

Six o'clock P. M. According to order, Mr. Deane attending was called in, and proceeded to read his written information, but not having time to finish,

Ordered, That he attend to-morrow at ten o'clock, and proceed in his information.

Wednesday, December 23, 1778. According to order, Mr. Deane attending was called in, and proceeded in his information, and having gone through what he had written, he produced sundry letters and papers, which he desired might be read. Upon a letter of April 7th, from Doctor Franklin to him, being read, Mr. Deane desired leave to say something in explanation of the last clause of the said letter, which respects a negociator, "who," as the letter mentions, "is gone back apparently much chagrined at his little success," and in which Doctor Franklin says, "he has promised him faithfully that, since his propositions could not be accepted, they should be buried in oblivion ; and therefore earnestly desires that Mr. Deane would put that paper immediately in the fire on the receipt of the letter, without taking or suffering to be taken any copy of it, or communicating its contents."

As he was proceeding to explain this matter, a motion was made that Mr. Deane withdraw.

Mr. Deane accordingly withdrew.

A motion was then made, That Mr. Deane be called in and informed that if he has anything further to report to lay it before Congress in writing.

In lieu of which it was moved, as an amendment,

That Mr. Deane be permitted to proceed in his verbal explanation, referred to, and that it be afterwards reduced to writing, if Congress shall judge it necessary.

The amendment being received, a division was called for, and on the question to agree to the first clause.

The yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery.

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	ay	ay
	Mr. Frost	ay	
Massachusetts-Bay	Mr. S. Adams	ay	ay
	Mr. Gerry	ay	
	Mr. Lovell	ay	
	Mr. Holten	ay	
Rhode-Island	Mr. Ellery	no	divided
	Mr. Collins	ay	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	ay	ay
	Mr. Ellsworth	ay	
	Mr. Root	ay	
New-York	Mr. Jay	ay	ay
	Mr. Duane	ay	
New-Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	ay	ay
	Mr. Fell	ay	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Roberdeau	ay—	ay
Delaware	Mr. M'Kean	ay—	ay
Virginia	Mr. F. L. Lee	ay	ay
	Mr. M. Smith	no	
	Mr. Griffin	ay	
North-Carolina	Mr. Penn	ay	ay
	Mr. Williams	ay	
	Mr. Hill	ay	
	Mr. Burke	ay	
South-Carolina	Mr. Laurens	no	ay
	Mr. Drayton	ay	
	Mr. Hutson	ay	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	ay—	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the second clause.

The yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery.

New-Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	ay	ay
	Mr. Frost	ay	
Massachusetts-Bay	Mr. S. Adams	ay	ay
	Mr. Gerry	ay	
	Mr. Lovell	ay	
	Mr. Holten	ay	

Rhode-Island	Mr. Ellery	ay	ay
	Mr. Collins	ay	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	ay	ay
	Mr. Ellsworth	ay	
	Mr. Root	ay	
New-York	Mr. Jay	ay	ay
	Mr. Duane	ay	
New-Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	ay	ay
	Mr. Fell	ay	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Roberdeau	ay	ay
Delaware	Mr. M'Kean	ay	ay
Virginia	Mr. F. L. Lee	ay	ay
	Mr. M. Smith	ay	
	Mr. Griffin	no	
North-Carolina	Mr. Penn	ay	ay
	Mr. Williams	ay	
	Mr. Hill	ay	
	Mr. Burke	ay	
South-Carolina	Mr. Laurens	ay	ay
	Mr. Drayton	ay	
	Mr. Hutson	ay	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	no	no

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That the secretary inform Mr. Deane that Congress will give him notice of the time when he shall attend again, which will probably be this evening.

Saturday, December 26, 1778. Ordered, That Mr. Deane be notified to attend Congress on Monday next, at ten o'clock, A.M. [There was no quorum of Congress on Monday.]

Journals of Congress.

Card of Thomas Paine.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

The author whose signature is Common Sense has not, on any occasion, held out falsehood in the place

of truth; therefore the public will not hastily form an opinion to his prejudice, founded on the assertions or insinuations of the author who signs himself Plain Truth. The friends of Common Sense wish and expect he will lay the facts fairly, with his usual candor, before the public.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 24, 1778.

William Lee's Office of Alderman.

Mr. Dunlap,—Fancy driven to *consult* the royal Kalendar or annual register for 1778, in search after the name of Alderman Lee, I saw in that same *accurate* list of officers under the British government, the names of several gentlemen who are in highly confidential employments in these United States. I mention only Judge Cushing, in the Superior Court of Massachusetts-Bay; Henry Merchant, Esq., of Rhode Island, a Delegate in Congress; Governor Trumbull, Secretary Wyllis and Treasurer Lawrence of Connecticut; Richard Morris, Esq., of New York, and Richard Peters, Esq., of Pennsylvania, a member of the Continental Board of War.

I desire you to publish this, and I am persuaded that the readers of your paper, almost to a man, will believe my desire springs from a benevolent purpose, and that *this* reference to the Kalendar is not made with an infamous design to do injury to a single worthy character. Q.

Dec. 25.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 26, 1778.

Carter Braxton to John Ross.

Extract of a letter dated, Virginia, Dec. 26th, 1778.

"There have lately appeared in our papers, from Mr. Silas Deane, some severe strictures upon the con-

duct of the three Mr. Lees, the two in France and R. H. Lee here, and great indeed are the suspicions excited therefrom; altho' Mr. Lee has desired a suspension of the public opinion untill his answer can appear, and Mr. Deane's trial in Congress take place, which now on that account will immediately be done, but would other wise have been suffered to sleep undisturbed for many months; I am exceeding well acquainted with the character of the Lees, and know them to be actuated by such base principles, and full of such artifice and intrigue, that no new proof was necessary to fix my opinion. Perhaps this production and what we are to expect will follow from Mr. Deane, will determine the sentiments of people at large. I had long seen the impropriety of entrusting the secrets of America with men of such characters, but it was not to be prevented. R. H. Lee's interest in Congress, joined to that of the Eastern states, was too great to be withstood; besides this, all the inflammatory news from Britain, and much falsity came thro' their hand, for which they were to be rewarded, and now it seems they relent and wish to carry things backwards, as if frightened with steps they had taken. Between false friends and designing foreign ministers I wish poor America may survive it long. For your amusement I send the Baltimore papers with Deane's first piece in it."

CARTER BRAXTON.

To John Ross, Esq., at Nantz.

The Royal Gazette, New York, Feb. 3, 1779.

REPLY TO ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

TO SENEX.

As you seem to be desirous of information on some points, and write with apparent moderation, tho' it is plain you look to only one side of the question, I will endeavour to satisfy you in a plain manner, as far as

my knowledge in these matters and the delicacy of the subject will permit.

Mr. Arthur Lee was appointed joint Commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane at the Court of France, and particularly impowered to negociate with the Court of Spain. Dr. Franklin was first appointed for the last business ; but his age and infirmities preventing him from executing it, Mr. Lee was ordered upon the service, a service in which he was much more exposed to sufferings, than those who were living in elegance and splendor at the Court of France.

Mr. Lee was an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Berkenhout's, as a man of science, many years ago. His correspondence with him while at Paris rests upon Mr. Deane's assertion ; but if we may credit that gentleman, the correspondence was not criminal. I am well assured R. H. Lee received no letter from Mr. Lee by Dr. Berkenhout.

Mr. W. Lee was appointed joint commercial agent with Mr. Thomas Morris. Very soon after he *received* his appointment, he was ordered to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin to negociate a particular business, for which one person was thought sufficient, and therefore it would have burthened the public with unnecessary expense to have appointed two. Upon the death of Mr. Thomas Morris, Mr. W. Lee, before he entered upon his office as Commissioner, made some arrangements in the commercial line ; whatever these arrangements were, I understand they have since been confirmed by the Commissioners at Paris, who were authorized by Congress last February to appoint such Commercial Agents in France as they should think proper. This is a strong reason for our believing those arrangements salutary and right, until we have better proof to the contrary than has yet appeared.

Congress must have known Mr. W. Lee was one of the Aldermen of London when they appointed him to an office in their service. His leaving England and accepting that office most certainly vacated his alder-

manship. He cannot be accountable for the conduct of the editor of the Kalendar, or the manner in which the Livery of London transact their business; but that body having been most remarkable in their opposition to ministerial measures, their not being in haste to fill the vacancy is, I think, rather a compliment to Mr. Lee for his zeal and unwearied endeavors in support of Liberty whilst one of that body.

What Dr. Berkenhout's business here was I know not, there being very little evidence to judge upon; for, as to the intelligence from the city of New York, those who know what various and contradictory accounts were carried last winter out of this city, and by good people, as it was said, will readily allow that it is not altogether to be depended on. But if he was an emissary of the British Ministry, a principal part of his business must have been to create jealousies and divisions among the people; and I am sure many such hostile emissaries could not have executed the business so effectually as has been done by the friendly Mess. Deane and Co., who have so far fallen in with the views of our enemies, and are undoubtedly entitled to their thanks.

Fine doings these, Senex, for the Tories! They have long wished for such a scene as is now exhibited; they have long wished for an opportunity of revenge upon those whom they considered as among the foremost in measures which they detest. They expect now to be gratified; they join the cry, and laugh in their sleeve at the folly of the whigs. But their joy will be short-lived; the public will be disabused, and know who are their real friends.

You cannot be ignorant that our affairs have not been in a situation to admit of permanent arrangements in all the departments. The appointments abroad were made when we were surrounded with a crowd of difficulties and when several persons in America declined the office. No objections till now have been made, tho' most of the circumstances men-

tioned above have been long known to many. Why they are now made, it cannot require much discernment to discover.

Not long since it was thought a subject of approbation and praise for a whole family to step forward and chearfully obey the call of their country, in whatever station it thought they could be useful. Is it generous, Senex, to make such a conduct the means of exciting odium at the moment when danger is over, and ease and profit hold out their allurements? However, I am acquainted with the gentlemen in question, and am certain they will retire without a murmur whenever their country shall think their services no longer necessary. The only reward they have ever expected is to see the Liberty and Independence of America secured. That happy event is, I trust, now out of danger, notwithstanding the intrigues and dark cabals which are on foot; although some of its good effects, which might be expected, may be something retarded by them.

It is curious to see how artfully a variety of circumstances, trifling in themselves, are brought together, connected and enlivened by mysterious hints and alarming insinuations, so as to form a whole, which strikes the imagination, but, when analized and examined, is found to contain *nothing*.

As you are an old man, you must have read or heard that, in popular governments, those who have designs upon the liberty or purse of the public always endeavor to carry their point by undermining the confidence of the people in their old, tryed friends, and by lavish professions of public virtue and love for the people. You cannot be at a loss for the application at present.

No person, I think, can have an objection to the people's being informed of the situation of their affairs, whenever it can be done without endangering the public safety. You should consider that our enemies and foreigners can read as well as the Americans. When

the British Commissioners wanted to know the nature of our treaties with France, they upraided Congress with not publishing them to their constituents. The negociations of this winter will probably be most important, and the interest of America may be much affected by the appearance of divisions among ourselves. I suppose you are by this time satisfied that Congress have never shut their ears against Mr. Deane; and when you reflect, besides, that he might have communicated to them by letter whatever he pleased, every day almost since he arrived here, I am sure you will admit that the term indecent is much too mild to be applied to his address.

I shall now take my leave, with congratulating you on the lucky fit of the gout, as, without its timely interference you might, perhaps, have committed an act of folly which would have embittered the rest of your days.

CANDID.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 29, 1778.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS PAINE.

FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the course of a few days I shall lay before you some very interesting facts and materials, by which you will be able to distinguish between those who serve you and those who seek to deceive you. There is something more in Mr. Deane's affair than many of you are at present acquainted with, and as such persons appear to have mistaken the right side for the wrong, it is now necessary that the public should know the whole, for upon *that only* can they form a proper judgment.

If Mr. Deane and his friends are right, then I must be wrong; and if I am right, they must be wrong. Either the one or the other is deceiving you. There

is a premeditated baseness lurking somewhere, and it ought to be detected. If it is on my part, you have a right to resent it as you please; and even the good I have already rendered, so far from becoming my excuse, ought to provoke you the more. I have either disturbed a viperous nest to preserve you from being bitten, or deserve to be thrown into one myself; and on *this ground only*, without looking forward or backward, I desire to stand or fall in the opinion of every man in America, in proportion as I am in *this affair* of Mr. Deane right or wrong, faithful or unfaithful.

As I shall reserve my principal matter for my next publication, I shall in this piece give you only a short history of what may be called the underplots, as by your first understanding those, you will be the better able to judge of the Characters of the persons concerned.

Before my piece, *signed Common Sense*, addressed to Mr. Deane, came out, I gave the Printer, Mr. Dunlap, authority to give my real name and place of residence to Mr. Deane, that he might know where and on whom to call if he found himself injured, or had any thing to resent; and I had reason to expect (by the threatenings which Mr. Deane's friend informed me of, and who came to my lodgings on purpose, having never been there before) and likewise from other intimations, that I should be called upon; and under this expectation I took care not to be out of the way, but remained constantly at home the two following days. No person came.

In the next newspaper after my piece came out, some one or more informed the public, "That Common Sense would be answered by a person under the signature of Plain Truth, *and that the writer's name would be left with the Printer.*" And in the piece itself signed Plain Truth, the writer says, "*his* name *is* left with the Printer." By these repeated assertions the public were, no doubt, induced to believe that the author of Plain Truth was too much a man of honor and veracity to impose upon them, or to conceal

himself from the author of Common Sense, when called upon.

As I saw my own personal character treated, in that piece, with an unjust degree of scandalous freedom, I sent my name in a written note to the printer (which note he has my leave to show to any person whatever), and desired him to give me up the author of Plain Truth. To this I received no answer. On the next day I engaged a gentleman, a friend of mine, to call on the Printer, and make the same demand, authorising him to use my name if he choose ; because as one of the public he had a right to make the demand in his own person. I chuse in this place to relate the exact conversation as given me in writing by that gentleman.

"*Pray, Mr. Dunlap, who is the author of Plain Truth?*" Mr. Dunlap replied, "Aye, that indeed!" The gentleman rejoined, "*Surely, I have a right to know the author; he has, he says, left his name with you for the information of those who chuse to know.*" Mr. Dunlap replied, "Sir, you shall know, but Mr. Paine has demanded his name in a letter to me, and he has a right to be first informed. *He* shall be informed in writing this evening, and you, if you please, shall know to-morrow morning." The gentleman answered, "*It is very well.*" This passed on Wednesday.

I waited the remainder of that day, and the next till five o'clock, and no name was sent to me. I then applied by a written note again to the same gentleman, to solicit his further assistance. When he came to me, I told him I had received no answer to my demand. He replied, "he had," and at the same time mentioned as his opinion, that the name then given to him was not, and could not be, the real one. Neither was it given up as the real author's name. He then produced a note written to Mr. Dunlap, which note Mr. Dunlap had just then given to him to communicate to me. The note has neither date or place. In said note, the name of "*M. Clarkson*," who, as I am told, is an Aid de Camp to General Arnold, is given

up as the person who undertakes to "*avow* the piece under the signature of Plain Truth, in the Pennsylvania Packet of December 21st."

As I consider this proceeding to be a low and pitiful evasion, both towards the public and myself personally, I shall therefore treat it as all such proceedings deserve. And if this young man, whom I do not know even by sight, has been so weak, or influenced by promises or other motives, to stand in a gap to screen an unseen incendiary, and that in a matter he has no business with, and can know scarcely anything of, he truly deserves that kind of chastisement which the law best inflicts. I shall therefore order an Attorney to prosecute him, as a party concerned in publishing a false malicious libel, tending to injure the reputation of the "Secretary for Foreign Affairs," which mode of proceeding will likewise afford him an opportunity of proving what he has, I believe, so unnecessarily made his own. And when I can discover the real author or authors, I shall serve them in the same manner, as by their skulking cowardice they deserve no other treatment.

THOMAS PAINE,

Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Author of all the Writings under the Signature of *Common Sense*.

Philadelphia, December 28, 1778.

P. S. The above was to have appeared in the paper of Saturday last, and was sent to the Printer for that purpose on Friday noon; but as the gentleman alluded to in the above was not present to explain the conversation which passed between him and Mr. Dunlap, it was therefore found necessary to defer it.

In justice to Mr. Dunlap, I think it proper to mention that his delay in giving up the *writer's* name was because it was not left with him; and that, as far as I can learn, he was obliged to make repeated applications to get even that which is now given.

T. P.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 29, 1778

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 30th December, 1778.

Sir,—When I had the honor of waiting on Congress last, I was informed that I should be favored with an opportunity of finishing my narrative without delay. I now take the liberty of applying to Congress, and to inform them that I am ready, and wait their orders. I have received letters which I am desirous to communicate personally; they relate to parts of my narrative. My solicitude for a final issue of my affairs will, I trust, not appear unreasonable to Congress, when it is considered that a certain Mr. Thomas Paine, styling himself Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and presuming to address the public in his official character, has thrown out in a late paper many insinuations injurious to my public character, and has avowed his intentions of laying before the public a number of interesting facts and materials relative to my conduct as one of the commissioners of these United States at the Court of France.

I rely on the justice of Congress, and have the honor to be, &c.

Silas Deane.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 178.

Matthew Clarkson's Reply to Thomas Paine.

Mr. Dunlap,—A person who signs himself Thomas Payne, Secretary for foreign affairs, and author of all the writings under the signature of Common Sense, has thought proper, in your paper of the 29th, to inform the public that in *his* opinion "*I* was not the writer of Plain Truth, but that I have stood in the gap to screen an incendiary, and that in a matter I have no business with, and can scarcely know any thing of." I do not think this writer's opinion of my literary abilities, or of my motives of appearing before the

public of such consequence as to render it necessary to discuss this matter. His vanity as an author by profession, and the consciousness of the motives which generally actuate that class of men, render him on these points a very unfit umpire. Neither shall I, in imitation of this great personage, publish myself to the world as the *author of all the writings under the signature of Plain Truth;* because, when I consider that others before and since the *auspicious* birth of Mr. Payne have wrote under the signature of Common Sense, and that many have fought under the banners of Plain Truth, I feel a reluctance to indulge my vanity at the expence of truth.

Mr. Payne says "it is a matter in which I had no business," to which I reply in the language of a Freeman, whatever relates to the rights of individuals, and to the interest and safety of these States, is *my business,* and the business of every well wisher to the liberties of this country.

This observation of Mr. Payne will naturally induc the people of America to consider what business the Secretary of the Committee of foreign affairs had to enter into a discussion, in the public papers, of the characters and merits of the Ministers of these States at foreign courts, particularly at a time when those matters are under the consideration of Congress, and to boast to the public that he is, from the nature of his office, acquainted with certain state matters which are not known *even to the legislatures of these States.* Has Mr. Payne's long and boasted friendship with the gentlemen he mentions in his address signed Common Sense betray'd him into this measure, or is there less decency and propriety in a Freeman independent of office to prevent the public from being deceived than there is for a person under the sanction of an office to endeavour to mislead the judgment of the people, and to aim at blasting the reputation of a gentleman whose services are brought home to the feelings of every American?

I am threatened with a prosecution as a party concerned in publishing a *false, malicious libel*, tending to injure the reputation of "the Secretary for foreign affairs," because under the signature of Plain Truth I undertake to canvass the assertions of a writer stiling himself Common Sense. Ridiculous! I laugh at the insolence of office, and despise the threat. Should folly, pride, party spirit or tyranny dictate this measure, my firm reliance is on the laws of my country, and in the unconquerable spirit of freedom which I trust is not yet degenerated in the breasts of Americans. I shall glory in being the first person, since the present revolution, to whose lot it has fallen to vindicate the right of my fellow-freemen to think, write and speak with that decent boldness of public men and measures, which our ancestors ever have, and which even in the present degenerate state of Great-Britain is still practised, notwithstanding the wicked attempts of persons in power to destroy it.

From the illiberal expressions and insinuations thrown out by this writer, the gentlemen of the profession I have embraced, and others not acquainted with the character of Mr. Payne, may perhaps be surprized that I do not make *some strictures on him of a severer nature than those under the signature of Plain Truth;* but when they consider that this person is laboring to support his tottering consequence, by endeavouring to make the public believe that he is *waylaid* and *persecuted*, because his assertions cannot be otherwise refuted; and that he has at various times, and on various occasions, submitted with more than *a stoical patience* to *corrections* which his illiberal and turbulent spirit subjected him to, I doubt not my forbearance will be justified, not only on the principles of policy but of true spirit.

I shall now take leave of a writer whom I consider as beneath my notice, and shall wait the event of a prosecution, by which this important question will be decided, "whether the right of speaking with freedom

of public men and measures is unalienable in every citizen of these free States, or whether this inestimable privilege is confined to the *sacred* person and *sacred* pen of Mr. Thomas Payne, Secretary (as he is pleased to stile himself) for foreign affairs, and author of all the writings under the signature of Common Sense, &c, &c, &c.

M. Clarkson.

Philadelphia, December 30, 1778.

P. S. Mr. Payne has labored to make the public believe, that notwithstanding frequent applications were made to know the author of Plain Truth, an answer was long evaded. I aver, upon my honor, that on the first application being made to Col. H. B. Livingston, who carried the publication to Mr. Dunlap, my note avowing it was sent to the printer. If Mr. Dunlap before applied in an improper channel, the fault is not mine.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 31, 1778.

William Lee's Office of Alderman.

To the Printer.

A Person under the signature of Q., in your paper of the 26th instant, says, "that in search after the name of Alderman Lee, in the Royal Kalendar, or Annual Register for the year 1778, he saw the names of several gentlemen, who are in highly confidential employment in these United States, amongst which he mentions Judge Cushing, in the Superior Court of Massachusetts Bay; Henry Merchant, Esq., of Rhode Island, a Delegate in Congress; Governor Trumbull, Secretary Wyllis, and Treasurer Lawrence of Connecticut; Richard Morris, Esq., of New York, and Richard Peters of Pennsylvania, a Member of the Continental Board of War.

The writer draws no inference from this discovery,

but it must be obvious that his intention is to induce the public, either to believe that the Annual Register is not to be relied on as a proper authority, or that it is no more proof that Mr. William Lee continues to hold his office of Alderman of the city of London, than it is that the gentlemen whose names are mentioned, hold offices under the authority of the crown of Great-Britain.

Let us see whether there is not an evident distinction between the case of Alderman Lee and that of the persons whose names have been cited by this writer. All the gentlemen he has mentioned, either held commissions under the crown of Great-Britain, or exercised the same functions which they do at present, under the sanction of the supreme authority of that state, previous to the Declaration of Independence. The list of Crown Officers in the Annual Register is composed from the information of the Secretaries or other principal officers in each department. And notwithstanding the gentlemen mentioned by Q. as well as several others, who formerly exercised offices under the sanction of the crown of Great-Britain, have since acted in commission under these States, as *Free and Independent*, it has been the policy of the British government to continue their names in the Royal Kalendar as officers of the crown.

There were two principal motives for this conduct.

The first was national *pride*, which has invariably led the rulers of the British government to hold up to their subjects, and to the rest of the world, the *shadow* of their sovereignty over these States, though they had irrevocably lost the *substance*.

The second was, *the hope of revenge on individuals*, who, having formerly acted under the sanction of the crown of Great-Britain, had presumed to take an active part in what was stiled a *most daring rebellion;* of such persons they meant in case of success to have aggravated the criminality of conduct, by averring that they were officers under the Crown of Great-Britain.

Several of these gentlemen whose names are mentioned by this writer, and who actually held Commissions under the Crown of Great-Britain, sent over their resignations; but the acceptance of the King of Great-Britain was never signified to them. And all of them, *previous to the surrender of General Burgoyne's army* (*that cordial to wavering and hysteric patriots*), and ever since by an open spirited and decisive conduct, have manifested their determination to abide by the fate of this country. *They* have therefore done all which it depended on them to do, to put *their* political character beyond the *reach* of *suspicion.*

Mr. William Lee holds his office of an Alderman of the city of London, not under the *Crown of Great-Britain*, but from an *election of the Freemen of the Ward* he represents. Had he, after receiving his commission under the United States, made a decisive choice in his own mind to which *country he would consider himself as owing allegiance*, and signified his determination of resigning his Alderman's Gown to the Freemen of Aldgate Ward; they must, by the charter of the city of London, have proceeded to the election of a new Alderman, and consequently his name could not have been continued in the list of Aldermen of the city of London for the year 1778.

He has therefore not done, what depended upon himself alone to do, to shew his determination to throw off his allegiance to the State of Great-Britain.

The writer, in the name of the public, asks the friends and abettors of Mr. William Lee,

Whether that gentleman, after having received a commission under the United States, has not resigned his Alderman's Gown?

If he has, whether it was *previous* or subsequent to the *surrender of General Burgoyne's army?*

Whether, previous to that important event, Mr. William Lee did or did not avow the commissions which he had been honored with by Congress, and

openly enter upon the execution of his office as a Commercial Agent?

These are plain questions; the public have a right to expect plain answers; if none such are given, the conclusion is obvious.

The writer who signs himself Q. says he was, *Fancy driven* to consult the Register; I am convinced he was, but I would advise him, when he appears before so respectable a tribunal as the *Freemen of America*, not to be driven by *fancy*, but to take *reason* for his guide.

He says that this reference to the Kalendar was not made with an *infamous* design to do injury to a single worthy character. I am convinced it was not; but it was done with a design to palliate a line of conduct, which, if true, is not justifiable in any character, and to hoodwink, if possible, the public judgment; I will not say this is a more *infamous design*, because invectives are only proofs of a *weak cause*, and of an *illiberal writer;* the Candid and discerning public will judge and determine for themselves.

A Freeman.

Monday, December 28th, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 31, 1778.

Proceedings of Congress.

Philadelphia, Thursday, December 31, 1778. A letter of the 30th, from Mr. Deane was read, informing that he waits the order of Congress, and that he has received letters which he is desirous to communicate personally, which relate to parts of his narration; whereupon

Ordered, That Mr. Deane be notified to attend immediately.

Mr. Deane attending was called in, and gave further information in writing, and having finished,

Ordered, That he withdraw into the next room.

Accordingly he withdrew; whereupon a motion was made,

That a day be now assigned for Mr. Deane to attend Congress, that such questions may be asked as the house shall think proper, to elucidate the subject of his narrative. Question put; passed in the negative.

Ordered, That Mr. Deane be called in and informed that he has leave to withdraw, and that Congress will notify him their future orders.

Mr. Deane being called in was informed of the foregoing order, and withdrew.

Journals of Congress.

Silas Deane's Narrative, Read before Congress.

Sir,—I beg leave to remind Congress of my having several times mentioned to them, in my letters desiring an audience, that my detention was very prejudicial to my private affairs, as well as that it might tend to embarrass or prevent the settlement of those of the public, which my sudden departure from France obliged me to leave without being adjusted and closed. The prejudice resulting from this delay I now hope will be fully compensated, from the ample time it has afforded for making the most minute and scrupulous examination into every part of my public conduct, both in Europe and America.

In August last, when I had the honor of being heard by Congress, I expressed my desire of knowing if objections had been made to any part of my conduct whilst in their service, and if any, what they were. Previous to the entering on a general narrative, I take the liberty to mention in a few words the reasons which induced me to make that request.

I set out for Europe, intrusted with the political and commercial agency of these States, and in the month of December following received a commission from Congress, appointing me one of their commissioners

at the Court of Versailles, by which my former commission was superseded, and a person appointed to the commercial agency in my room. From the time of my leaving my native country in March, 1776, to the 4th of March, 1778, I had reason to flatter myself that my conduct had been such as to meet with the approbation of my honorable constituents; and though the resolution of Congress of the 8th December, 1777, which I was then for the first time made acquainted with, and the letter which inclosed it expressed nothing to the contrary; yet, sensible of the extremely difficult situation in which I had been placed previous, as well as subsequent, to the arrival of my colleagues, of the variety of transactions, political and commercial, in which on account of these States I had been engaged, and knowing that I had been so unfortunate as to have enemies at Paris and at Nantes who frequently wrote to America, I thought myself warranted to suspect that misrepresentations had been made, either with a design to injure me, or through ignorance and misapprehension. My venerable friend and colleague, Dr. Franklin, had the same suspicions, as his letters before Congress shew.

Although the dispatches just before sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and Captain Courter were sufficient to inform Congress, generally, of "*the state of affairs* in Europe," yet my disposition to pay the most ready and implicit obedience to the orders of Congress on every occasion, with a desire to know in what light my conduct had been represented, prevailed over every other consideration, and I left Paris the last of March in the manner and under the circumstances which I shall hereafter relate.

Shortly after my arrival I had, from many incidents needless to repeat, reasons to conclude that my former suspicions were not altogether groundless, and therefore that the request I made was proper, and such as my situation required. I therefore made it, and was happy to find that no objections were made to my

conduct, or exceptions taken to any part of the narrative I then had the honor of delivering to Congress.

As several months have since elapsed, in which time those in Europe as well as America (if there are any) who have really entertained unfavorable suspicions, have had ample time to make the strictest scrutiny into every part of my public transactions, I confidently rely on the justice of Congress that if any charges or representations have been made to them against my character or conduct as the agent and commissioner of these States, they will order the same to be communicated to me, and give me an opportunity of making my answer. In the mean time, in obedience to the orders of Congress, I proceed to lay before them a brief narrative of all my transactions from my leaving America in March, 1776, to this time.

In the month of December, 1775, soon after Congress appointed the honorable Messrs. Franklin, Harrison, and others their Committee for Secret Correspondence, application was made to me by Dr. Franklin and others to receive a commission and to transact certain affairs, political as well as commercial, in Europe, but more particularly in France. I accepted their proposals without hesitation and prepared for the voyage, and, having wrote in general terms to my brother and family in Connecticut, that I had undertaken a long journey on affairs too urgent to permit me to pay them a visit before my setting out, and having given general directions as to my private affairs, I received from the Committee, on the 2d day of March, a commission and instructions which I beg leave here to read.

On the 5th of March I left Philadelphia in a vessel bound to Bordeaux, which met with an accident at sea, and was obliged to return into port.

I embarked again on board a sloop bound for Bermuda, and sailed the beginning of April. I arrived the 24th of the same month, and having, pursuant to my instructions, chartered a sloop for France, I left

that island the 4th of May, having written to the Secret Committee an account of my proceedings, and the observations I had made.

I arrived at Bordeaux on the 6th of June following, in the full expectation of finding several vessels there which the Committee had encouraged me should be sent out with cargoes to enable me to execute the commission I was intrusted with. Unfortunately none had arrived.

As the sum I carried out with me was little more than sufficient for my private expenses for any considerable time, and the intelligence of our misfortunes in Canada arriving at the same time in France, with an account of the formidable armaments gone and going from England to America, I found it to be impossible to execute anything in the mercantile way, and having placed the bills I carried over in the hands of Messrs. Delaps, and written to Dr. Bancroft to meet me in Paris, and to the Secret Committee an account of my situation, and of my proceedings to that time, I left Bordeaux the latter part of June. Whilst I remained in that city I took the character of a merchant from Bermuda, and applied myself to obtain an acquaintance with their commerce, their manufactures, and at the same time with their sentiments respecting America. I found that the goods I wanted could not be procured in that city, nor the information necessary to direct me how to proceed in the other part of my commission.

I arrived at Paris early in the month of July, a stranger to the language as well as to the customs and manners of the nation.

The greater part of the bills forwarded by Mr. Delap to London were soon after returned protested, by which I was in a degree without money. Unknown and unconnected in Europe, I was without personal credit, and the accounts of our misfortunes in America, with the confident assurances of the British Ministry by their ambassador and partisans at Paris, that every-

thing would be finished, as they expressed themselves, that campaign left me as little credit on the public account as on my own.

I had no friend at Court, and the gentlemen to whom I had letters at Paris, though worthy and eminent in their stations, had but little more interest there than myself. Monsieur le Roy, the worthy and learned Director of the Academy, was well known in the literary, but unheard of in the political world. I shall ever be sensible of the hospitable and polite reception he gave me, and of the friendship he honored me with during my residence in France, and which, I flatter myself, still mutually subsists between us. Monsieur Dubourg had been eminent as a physician, but had never either held an employment at Court, or been connected with the administration ; he was well esteemed in Paris ; and if goodness of heart and the most ardent zeal for the rights and happiness of mankind in general, and of these States in particular, merit esteem, no man in the world has a better title. Having been recommended to these gentlemen, I think myself obliged, on that account, to mention them in my narrative, and gratitude urges me to say thus much of the many things I might with justice say of them. In a word, considering the magnitude and importance of the objects I aimed at, I was moneyless, without credit, and without friends ; nor will this sketch give a just idea of my situation, without adding that the wealth and influence of Great Britain were employed against me.

Dr. Bancroft got into town the day before me. From him I learned that the state of affairs in Great Britain was, in many respects, very different from what they had been represented in America, and from what I expected. The American war was by no means so unpopular as had been supposed. The ministers were more secure than ever in their places ; the credit of the nation was high ; three per cents selling for about ninety, and their other stocks in proportion.

From the punctuality with which they paid the interest of the public debt, they found no difficulty in borrowing any sums they had occasion for, and the commerce of the nation appeared in a flourishing state.

On the continent of Europe there was a general peace, and no symptoms of a rupture in any part, except between Spain and Portugal about their American dominions, which was of no importance in the general scale.

In France, the state of affairs was such that no immediate public assistance could be expected for America; though the court and nation were by no means indifferent spectators of the contest, and though the American cause was far from being unpopular, yet many circumstances prevented France at that time from taking an open and decided part.

The present reign was but just begun, and as it succeeded a very long and expensive one, the ministers found many of the most important departments greatly deranged, particularly those of the Finances and the Marine, the latter of which had, in a particular manner, been neglected during the latter part of the late reign. These circumstances, together with the disposition of the king and his ministers to preserve the peace, rendered it difficult to do anything of consequence, more especially as England on her part had carefully avoided infringing any of the articles of the treaty subsisting between the two courts, and, jealous that supplies might by some means or other be got out from thence, had her emissaries and spies in all the principal seaports of the kingdom as well as at Paris, and was besides armed as well in Europe as in America.

I think it necessary to give this general account, not only of my particular situation, but of the state of public affairs in Europe on my arrival, as it will help to explain several of the subsequent transactions and events.

Immediately after my arrival, I wrote, agreeably to

the instructions I had received, to Monsieur Dumas at the Hague, and afterwards continued a correspondence with him until I left France. I wrote also to Monsieur Garnier, Chargé des Affaires for France at the Court of London, but received no answer. I wrote also to Mr. Arthur Lee, then at London.

Doctor Dubourg, having written a letter to his Excellency the Count de Vergennes, informing him of my being at Paris, we went to Versailles, when I showed him my commission and informed him generally of the state of affairs in America ; of the errand I came upon ; and the line of conduct I had pursued, and prayed his protection, counsel, and assistance. He generously assured me of his protection ; advised me to continue under the character I had assumed, which, agreeably to my instructions, was that of a merchant, and to act with great circumspection, for that I must depend on being narrowly watched by the British emissaries ; but as to assistance, he assured me the Court could afford none, consistently with the treaties subsisting with England, which his Majesty would on no occasion violate ; that commerce was free to all his Majesty's subjects, from whom I might obtain any articles I wanted, except such as were expressly prohibited by his Majesty ; and that he would afford me his countenance and protection ; but that he could do nothing as to the articles which I was instructed to solicit for. And respecting other subjects, especially an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, he observed it was an event in the womb of time, and dependent on so many others, that it would be premature to take it into present consideration. Monsieur Gerard being the first Secretary in his department for Foreign Affairs, and understanding English, I was referred to him when on any common occasion I should apply, his Excellency assuring me that I might rely on what he might at any time tell me, as fully as if I had it immediately from him.

I now set myself to fulfil, if possible, the mercantile

part of my commission; but, little or no remittances arriving, though more than six months had passed since the engagements had been taken in America to supply me, and hearing nothing from either the Congress or the Secret Committee, I found it impossible. Many of the capital merchants supposing me to have come over with large funds, offered their services, and to supply me. They offered me a credit of six, eight, or twelve months; but with these they connected a proposition that some capital banking-house in France should indorse my bills, and this ever defeated all their other proposals, however fair and promising they before appeared.

In the month of July, I became acquainted with Monsieur Beaumarchais, a gentleman to whom I owe much, my country more; and if I attempted to give his character in this narrative, I should doubtless be thought partial. Happily there is no necessity for doing it, as an honorable member of this House, now present, has been long and intimately acquainted with him, and an eye-witness of the services which he rendered the United States; which services will speak for him more fully than any language which I can make use of. It is sufficient to say here that this gentleman was well recommended to me; and that I ever found him equal, and even superior to the recommendations given of him. I found him the only person willing to venture a considerable credit to these States at that time, and, from the favorable light he stood in with the Prime Minister, his connections, I may say intimacy with the great, which he owed solely to his superior genius and ability as a writer and negotiator, and from his general knowledge and correspondence, and the boldness of his spirit for adventures, the only person on whom I could rely with confidence to procure the supplies then indispensably necessary.

Before the return of Dr. Bancroft to London, I had several interviews with this gentleman, the Doctor

assisting as interpreter between us, at which the outlines of our plan for supplies were laid.

After fixing on a mode of correspondence with Dr. Bancroft and obtaining what intelligence he could give me, that gentleman returned to London, having spent about three weeks with me, during which he gave me much assistance, and laid the foundation for much more; and it will not be improper to say here, that the correspondence carried on between us was never intercepted, and the intelligence I received from him whilst he ventured to stay there, and afterwards from his friends, was clear, and ever proved to be authentic and of great service to the affairs we were intrusted with

Soon after the return of Dr. Bancroft I received a letter from Arthur Lee, Esq., then at London, desiring me to inform Congress that Joseph Reed, Esq., and John Langdon, Esq., were dangerous persons and to put Congress on their guard against them. Stranger as I was to Mr. Lee's character, his letter greatly surprised me, the more so as he wrote in the most positive terms, without giving me the reasons on which he grounded his charge. I replied to his letter that I could by no means comply with his request; that I had been long personally acquainted with the gentlemen he mentioned, and that I had the fullest confidence in their integrity and zeal in the service of America, therefore could not think of transmitting such information without its being at the same time supported by the fullest proof; that I knew that those gentlemen actually held important posts under Congress; therefore, if the charge against them could be supported, no time should be lost in transmitting the proper evidence, but I trembled at the thought of giving Congress suspicions of their most confidential servants, without certain proofs to support and authorize such suspicions; the consequences must have been pernicious to the public and fatal to the individuals; this was the purport of my letter.

Having settled the plan for sending out supplies to America with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I made out an invoice or estimate of clothing for thirty thousand men, and for other necessaries in proportion, together with an invoice for two hundred pieces of brass cannon of four pounders, and of twenty-eight mortars; the cannon and mortars he told me that he could purchase out of the king's arsenals, and could possibly obtain a credit of eight months, or perhaps longer. I added an invoice, or order, for thirty thousand fusees, for two thousand barrels of powder, for ball, lead, flints, four thousand tents, and other articles in proportion. He told me that he hoped to purchase also a part of the fusees from the arsenals.

Having agreed generally on the articles to be furnished, we turned our attention to the transporting them to America, and made a contract with Monsieur Monthieu for the ships necessary. Monsieur Beaumarchais was my security for the payment of the freight to Monsieur Monthieu. Monsieur Beaumarchais could not procure the fusees out of the arsenals as he expected, or, at least but a small part of them, as he told me, and I saw him at the time purchase and pay for fifteen thousand of Monsieur Monthieu, and smaller quantities of others.

As the transporting so large a train of artillery to the seaports, and so many fusees and other warlike stores, must necessarily have occasioned great speculation and reports, which the British ministry could not long be ignorant of, and as the exportation of these articles was expressly prohibited, we found ourselves greatly embarrassed.

Having no one at Court who could openly support me in my operations, and, to avoid suspicions, venturing seldom to go there myself, except secretly, I complied with Monsieur Beaumarchais's proposal of sending out a number of officers with the stores, and by fixing on such as should be recommended by persons at Court, or of influence by their connections to pro-

cure what I found myself destitute of, friends and patrons. This was the origin of my contracts with officers; and for a full explanation of it, and the grounds I went on with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I refer to his letter to Congress of the 23d of March last.

Having found that the want of remittances had put it out of my power to execute the contract for Indian goods, I put into the list given Monsieur Beaumarchais as many of the articles as he could venture to engage for, and applied myself wholly to the execution of this greater and more important commission.

I now found myself engaged in an affair which called for assistance. I had taken no Secretary with me, and my resources would admit of nothing inconsistent with the most rigid economy. Major Rogers assisted me at times; he lodged in the same hotel with me; but as he was there for the benefit of his education, it was taking from that worthy young gentleman, without any equivalent reward, what no one can afford to lose. He mentioned Mr. Carmichael to me, whom I now have the pleasure of seeing a member of this honorable Assembly, as a gentleman of his acquaintance, then at Paris on his way to America, but detained there for the recovery of his health; I was introduced to him. And after conversing with him generally on the subject of American affairs, he told me that he was acquainted and corresponded with Mr. Arthur Lee, and showed me on the leaf of a Pocket Dictionary, intelligence for Congress, or the Secret Committee, written by Mr. Lee; this satisfied me as to his character, to which before I was a stranger; but to my surprise I found the same intelligence respecting Mr. Reed and Mr. Langdon as had before been conveyed to me from Mr. Lee. I expressed my astonishment to Mr. Carmichael, and my extreme uneasiness on that account, when he made me for the first time acquainted with a part of Mr. Lee's character, which was that of being excessively jealous and suspicious, and, as is usual with such dispositions, inclined to receive

and credit reports on the most light and uncertain grounds.

Satisfied with my interview with Mr. Carmichael, I informed him generally of my situation, and invited him to take his lodgings with me, and to favor me with his company and assistance, which, as he had then made some progress in the language, might be of advantage to my affairs. He complied, and soon after I received from Mr. Arthur Lee a letter, informing me that he should pay me a visit in a few days incog.: but as several other persons received the like intelligence, neither his arrival nor his stay in Paris was a secret.

I was now in the midst of my affairs with Monsieur Beaumarchais, and was with him every day. My first interview with Mr. Arthur Lee was at this gentleman's house. I afterwards frequently met them together. Mr. A. Lee was every day at my lodgings, and I spent all the vacant time I had with him. I acquainted him with my prospects of procuring supplies, and from whom; and he gave me the highest possible character of Mr. Beaumarchais for his abilities and address. In the course of our conversation on other subjects I entreated him to inform me on what grounds he had gone in his information respecting Mr. Reed and Mr. Langdon. He told me that as to Mr. Reed, he really knew nothing more than that he formerly corresponded with Lord Dartmouth, and that his brother-in-law, Mr. de Berdt, was actually intimate with his lordship. But as for Mr. Langdon, he said there could be no doubt, as he was the last winter in London, and frequently with the ministry. I replied, that as to the latter, I had spent the last winter with him in Philadelphia; and as to the former, I could not think that such vague and inconclusive circumstances were sufficient to authorize sending general charges to Congress; for that charges of such a complexion, and coming from such a person as himself, must forever damn the reputation of those accused thereby, and

alarm and embarrass the public. To this Mr. Lee said that he knew that a person of the name of Langdon had been in London the last winter, and therefore he wrote, supposing him to be Mr. John Langdon of Portsmouth; that he believed that he was too suspicious at times, and was glad that I had not sent forward his letter. Mr. Carmichael told him that he had for those and other reasons (having previously communicated to me the contents of the Dictionary letter), delayed sending it on, with which Mr. Lee was apparently well satisfied.

I mention these circumstances here to show on what ground a serious charge has since been brought by Mr. Lee against Mr. Carmichael for having opened and intercepted these dispatches, as well as to give some idea how difficult a part I had afterwards to act with a colleague of such a disposition, who carried his suspi cions so far as often to declare without reserve, that there were many in Congress, and even in their Select and Secret Committee, who ought not to be trusted; these, his suspicions, afterwards reported to persons in high rank, were, I am informed, prejudicial to our affairs, because I have been several times seriously questioned on the subject by the minister.

Mr. Lee, during his stay at Paris, though I often spoke to him of the affairs I had with Monsieur Beaumarchais, never intimated that he supposed that gentleman to have received money from the Court of France to enable him to send out supplies, nor was it ever hinted to me until many months after, when to my surprise I learned that such intelligence had been sent to Congress by Mr. Lee.

As I am now on this subject, I must take the liberty to go a little forward in my narrative, and inform that after Mr. Lee's arrival in Paris as Commissioner, when he estranged himself from M. Beaumarchais, and, supposing him to be in disgrace at Court, spoke as contemptuously of him as he had before been high in his commendation, he asserted as a fact that Mon-

sieur Beaumarchais had told him in London that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling of administration for the use of Congress. Monsieur Beaumarchais constantly and positively denied his ever having said any such thing. As it is not for me to determine which of these gentlemen is right, I refer Congress to Monsieur Beaumarchais' letter of the 23d of March, with the enclosed correspondence between him and Mr. Lee, to which may be added the account given by his Excellency Monsieur Gerard, on that subject, which is very different from any supposition that those supplies were a gratuity from the Court of France. Certain it is, I did not consider them as such at the time, for, on finding there was a surplus of cannon in the arsenals to be disposed of, I waited on the minister and solicited the liberty of purchasing them, but was refused. I then proposed to procure a man to purchase them, on condition that he should not be called on for the payment until he received his remittances from America. I could not obtain this. My view in this was to obtain a longer and more certain credit than could be relied on from any individual; this application I made previous to my finishing my contracts with Monsieur de Beaumarchais.

Having been acquainted with Mr. McCreary at Bordeaux, I wrote to him in Holland, that as he was returning to America, and proposed embarking at Bordeaux, I prayed him to take Paris in his way thither, and to take the charge of my dispatches; by this gentleman I wrote an exact account of all my proceedings to the time of his sailing, which was in September. I informed Congress of my contracts with Monsieur Beaumarchais and Monsieur du Coudray, and of the reasons which had induced me to engage with the latter; that remittances must be immediately made to the former, as I had not proposed more than eight or ten months credit; that by much the greater part of my bills had been protested, that the stores I had engaged and the charges arising on them amounted

to many millions of livres, for which I was responsible; and that at the same time I had not received one line from Congress since my leaving America to that time.

Having dispatched Mr. McCreary, I applied myself assiduously to the sending the stores to the different ports; to the procuring intelligence of whatever respected America; in settling and keeping up a correspondence in different parts of Europe, and in forming and cultivating an acquaintance with those characters, who in their different stations might promote the interests of these States.

Doctor Bancroft paid me a second visit in the month of October.

I had made an acquaintance with the agent of the King of Prussia, at Paris; and from the encouragements he gave me, I was induced to prevail on Mr. Carmichael to make a journey to Berlin, by the way of Amsterdam, with the view of obtaining intelligence of the situation of affairs in those parts of Europe; to give the necessary information of the state of the American dispute, and to endeavor to open a correspondence and commerce from thence for the benefit of the United States. He set out from Paris in October, and returned in December. During his journey he had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with many persons of note, was well received by the minister at Berlin, and performed such services as met with the approbation of your Commissioners at Paris, who arrived just after his return. I need not be more particular on this subject, as the honorable gentleman is present.

From my first engagements with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I was constantly embarrassed with a succession of obstacles in the way of my getting the cannon and other stores to the seaports from the inland magazines where they lay. France was then full of British emissaries; the cannon were at Strasbourg and in other interior parts; the moment they began to move, intelligence was

given, remonstrances made, and counter orders issued. It would be tedious to recount the instances of this kind, and perhaps improper to relate all the measures taken to obviate the difficulties which arose daily in our way.

The favorable point of light in which my friend Monsieur Beaumarchais stood with the Prime Minister; his assiduity, address, and the amazing fertility of genius which he displayed for finding fresh resources on every occasion, enabled us to get so well forward in the execution of our plan, that in November nearly the whole of the stores were collected at Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, Havre, and Dunkirk, and ships ready at those different ports to transport them to America.

About the last of November, 1776, Monsr. Beaumarchais went to Havre de Grace to dispatch the Amphitrite and another ship, viz., the La Seine, from thence. His going and his errand soon became publicly known, and he had only time to dispatch the first ship before orders arrived from Court to stop them; similar orders were sent to the different ports. Much was said on the subject, and such an alarm given that nothing more could be immediately done, and he returned to Paris almost discouraged, and much blamed at Court, of which his, as well as the enemies of America, took advantage.

Just about this period I received advice of the arrival of Dr. Franklin at Nantes, with a commission appointing the Honorable Arthur Lee, Esq., and myself, joint Commissioners with him at the Court of Versailles, and with a commission appointing Thomas Morris, Esq., Commercial Agent. I dispatched an express to London to inform these gentlemen of their appointment, and a few days after met Dr. Franklin at Versailles, and conducted him to my lodgings at Paris. Mr. Lee arrived a few days after. Dr. Franklin took lodgings which I had provided for him by his desire, in his letter to me from Nantes, in the same hotel with me, and Mr. Lee in a different part of the city.

As soon as Dr. Franklin had a little recruited himself from the excessive fatigues of his voyage, we waited on

his Excellency Monsieur de Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and presented him with a copy of the commission we had received.

Previous to this interview, the Amphitrite, dispatched by Monsieur Beaumarchais from Havre de Grace, returned into Port L'Orient by reason of contrary winds, and of some difficulties and disputes among the passengers. The return of this ship increased the reports then circulating in France, and which, being transmitted to England, produced the most unfavorable consequences.

At the interview with the minister, the Commissioners entered only on general subjects, and were generally assured of the utmost personal protection and civilities; were advised to continue as in a private character, in which the minister was pleased to say I had done well; but as to the purport of our commission, so many affairs of the utmost consequence were dependent upon, and connected therewith, that it required the most serious consideration. That he hoped we should be very happy in France, and that he should be always ready to render us every service consistent with his station and the treaties subsisting between the Courts of Versailles and London, which his Majesty would on no occasion violate. He desired us, that, whenever we had anything to communicate, we should do it directly to him or to Monsieur Gerard, and be careful of speaking to others. This was the substance of the conversation; after which I mentioned to his Excellency the situation in which the cannon and stores I had purchased actually were, and prayed his advice. On which he asked me of whom I had purchased? I told him; he said there had been some very imprudent conduct in the affair, and appeared to blame Monsieur Beaumarchais on the subject; indeed he appeared not desirous of knowing anything of the affair, nor willing to discourse on it at that time, on which we took our leave and returned to Paris, where I laid the state of my case before my colleagues, and found Mr. Lee persuaded from what had passed between Mon-

sieur le Compte de Vergennes and me, as well as from the common report in the city, that Monsieur Beaumarchais was a disgraced and a ruined man. My colleagues determined that as it was an affair undertaken solely by me, they would not meddle with it, but left it with me to conduct it through in the best manner I could.

I visited Monsieur Beaumarchais, and found him sick and confined to his bed from the fatigue and vexation he had undergone ; never had I found myself in so critical and distressed situation as at that period. All the difficulties before removed, were nothing to those I was then surrounded by.

The stores, amounting to thirty thousand stands of arms complete, near two hundred and fifty pieces of brass artillery, clothing, powder, &c., &c., were ready in the ports, and ships lying on expense ready to receive them. The officers returned were very clamorous. Monsieur du Coudray was loud in his complaints against Monsieur Beaumarchais and the agents for supplying the ships, whilst Monsieur Beaumarchais and others complained as loudly against the conduct of M. du Coudray. Add to this the intelligence of the very critical situation of our armies in America, of the misfortunes they had met with, and the distress they were in for the want of supplies, together with the reserve and coolness of the minister on the subject, put me also into a state of desperation ; but as it was absolutely necessary to do something, I consulted with Monsieur Beaumarchais whose abilities and zeal I had been long acquainted with, and, however appearances were at court and in the city then strongly against him, I could not think of deserting, or rather permitting him to desert from or fall under the great affairs in hand, which must inevitably have fallen with him.

We considered that the Amphitrite alone had ten or twelve thousand stands of arms, about sixty pieces of cannon, clothing and blankets to a great amount ; and it was very evident that the getting that ship out to America would be a great and capital supply.

To effect this I wrote to Monsieur du Coudray, told him of the complaints made against him, and forbade his embarking again in the Amphitrite, or in any other vessel in which I was concerned. The Minister of War sent orders to him to join his corps immediately at Strasbourg, and Monsieur Beaumarchais sent his secretary, M. Francis, now his agent in these States, to L'Orient with orders to clear out the ship as for the West Indies, and to give security with the captain that she should not go elsewhere. By this and other measures the ship got again to sea, and fortunately arrived at Portsmouth in New Hampshire in April following, just as the troops of these States were taking the field.

I ought to mention here, that on the return of the ship in November, 1777, the captain was instantly arrested and imprisoned for the breach of his engagements. The shock which this gave our credit, especially among the merchants and moneyed men, is more easily to be conceived than expressed.

M. du Coudray came secretly to Paris. I saw him and expostulated with him on what had passed, urging him to give up for the present all thoughts of prosecuting his voyage to America. He was unwilling to agree to it, and chose to go out at any rate. I told him that he must not rely on my doing anything further in his affairs ; he was in danger of being arrested in Paris on account of the order I before mentioned, and left the city privately. After which two gentlemen of high rank, the Duc de Rochefaucault and the Chevalier de Chastellant, waited on Dr. Franklin and myself, Mr. Lee being to the best of my remembrance out of town, and urged that I should not oppose the going out of Monsieur du Coudray. I stated generally my situation, but the character and abilities of the gentleman were so strongly urged by his noble patrons, that Dr. Franklin resolved to write in his favor, and having written the letter, I could no longer refuse joining him in it, which I did, on condition that Monsieur du Coudray should not embark in any of the ships I had ordered stores

to be sent in, but that he should shift for himself as well as he could.

Mr. Thomas Morris came to Paris soon after the Honorable Mr. Lee, and Dr. Bancroft and Mr. Williams came with him on a visit, the latter to Dr. Franklin, and the former more immediately to me, on account of the correspondence between us.

The Congress had ordered the commercial agent to pay the Commissioners ten thousand pounds sterling for their private use, which he was not then able to do, but referred us to a banker in Paris for our present demands and went to Nantes. The manner in which affairs were, as the Commissioners were informed, conducted by him, gave them great uneasiness on every account. They were uncertain even of the money necessary for their support, and wrote on the subject; in answer to which M. Gruel, of Nantes, wrote to the banker, Monsieur Soulier, to pay us as we should call for it ninety thousand livres, or three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. Being informed of this, the Commissioners wrote to Congress their opinion of Mr. Thomas Morris, and also to him to complete the payment of the ten thousand pounds without delay. The foibles and extravagancies of this gentleman I hope will be buried with him, and I desire only that it may be remembered that he had it not in his power to comply with our demands as to the money; he received remittances but sparingly, and orders for goods very liberally.

Having received this assurance of money for our support, and a promise of two millions of livres to be paid us by Monsieur Grand, whose brother, Sir George Grand of Amsterdam, then at Paris, was very friendly to us in that and other matters, it was thought advisable for Mr. Lee to set out for Madrid, as there appeared to be a prospect of doing something there, and he could not for many reasons be of any immediate use to these States at Paris.

Accordingly he set out to make that journey by the

way of Nantes and Bordeaux, where it was thought he might be of service in examining personally in what manner our commercial affairs were transacted.

I now return to the affair of the stores in which I was solely engaged. Soon after the sailing of the Amphitrite a second time from Port L'Orient, the rumors before raised beginning to subside, I consulted with Monsieur Beaumarchais on measures for sending out the others, and on finding a probability of success, I was alarmed with the report that the arms as well as the other supplies were bad, and that I had been imposed on. This was circulated, as I suspected at the time, by the enemies of Monsieur Beaumarchais, as well as of these States, but nevertheless it perplexed me exceedingly; business of the public prevented my leaving Paris to go and examine those cargoes myself. It would have been imprudent in me to have done it, had I been at leisure, as such a step must have confirmed the suspicions of those who conjectured that those cargoes were designed for America; and a report propagated by the enemies of these States that the attempt to destroy the magazines, stores, and shipping at Portsmouth had been made in consequence of my secret negotiations, had such an effect on the minds of the weak and credulous, as well as on the desperate partisans of Great Britain, that the minister advised me not to leave Paris, and even to be on my guard as to the security of my person; whilst there, and from the information he received, he even went so far as to give particular orders to the police with respect to my personal safety.

Thus situated, I proposed to Dr. Franklin that Mr. Williams should go to Nantes, and examine the stores about to be shipped from thence, and send up an account how he found them, and also samples, by which a judgment might be formed with certainty, and that Mr. Carmichael should go to Havre de Grace for the same purpose. The Doctor approved, and these gentlemen went, and found everything in good order, and

had the address to ship off the stores, then ready at those ports, the principal part of which arrived in season for the operations of the campaign of 1777.

Nantes being a capital port, from which I found that further exportations must be made, I prevailed on Mr. Williams to return thither and to continue in the business until the whole should be completed. I found this gentleman by this trial of him to be capable, and really a man of business, willing to sacrifice everything for his country, and of the most disinterested and generous principles. I therefore considered the fixing of him at Nantes, in this business, as a valuable acquisition.

In the course of the examination of the public accounts it will appear what business he did, and what reward he received therefor.

By the embarkation at Nantes and Havre, a considerable part of the stores were shipped, yet a valuable part remained, and the intelligence from America was such as by no means helped forward the remainder. In a word, by a continued secret negotiation, and the most assiduous attention to times and circumstances, the last of those stores were embarked at Marseilles in September, 1777, on board the Flammand, Captain Landais, which ship had been waiting ten months on expense to receive her cargo. The cargo was finally shipped secretly, and at a considerable risk to the parties immediately concerned. This ship fortunately arrived at Portsmouth in New Hampshire.

During Mr. Lee's absence on his journey into Spain, a contract was made with the Farmers General for five thousand hogsheads of tobacco, as per contract, and one million of livres were received, the part to be advanced. The Commissioners were now sure of three million of livres, equal nearly to one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds sterling, to answer the demands already on them, and to enable them to procure further supplies. When I mention the demands on the Commissioners, I ought to inform that the contract with Monsieur Beaumarchais was considered as an affair

entirely out of the question, and solely between him and me, my colleagues having declined being concerned, and that no money was ever advanced or paid to him by the Commissioners.

I purchased of Monsieur Chaumont fifty tons of saltpetre, and shipped it, on account of Congress, as ballast in American vessels going out previous to the arrival of my colleagues, and paid him for it out of the money I carried with me. I had purchased of the same gentleman two hundred tons of powder, for which I had given my notes or bills, which were paid out of this money. These were all the purchases, independent of my contract with Monsieur Beaumarchais, which I had made of any consequence. The saltpetre cost nearly five and a half pence sterling, and the powder ten pence per pound.

Mr. Hodge, and soon after him Captain Bell, arrived, with dispatches from Congress, in which the Commissioners were directed to fit out, if in their power to do it, armed cruisers from France to annoy the British trade in Europe, and blank commissions were sent there for that purpose.

Previous to the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, I had formed an acquaintance with Monsieur Boux, a gentleman eminent for his knowledge in the construction of ships, and for his bravery in commanding. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee conversed with him, and approved his plans. This man was sent into Holland by the Commissioners to build a large ship for the United States, and three hundred thousand livres were advanced to Sir George Grand to carry on the work.

Dr. Franklin and myself—Mr. Lee was then in Spain—made a contract with this gentleman to come out to America as soon as the ship should be completed. This proceeding was not a secret to the ministry, for we made no considerable purchase or contract without acquainting them with it.

Mr. Hodge soon went for Dunkirk, to purchase and fit out from thence a cruiser, and took with him a credit on the house of Messrs. Morrells at that place.

Captain Wicks, on his first coming into France, brought with him two prizes which he disposed of without difficulty. He refitted, made a cruise, and brought in three others which he also disposed of. This gave us encouragement to proceed in executing the wishes of Congress, signified by the Secret Committee.

Captain Johnson arriving at Bordeaux in the Lexington, and the Commissioners having purchased a cutter, it was agreed to refit and send out Captain Wicks and Captain Johnson in their vessels, and Captain Nicholson in the cutter, on a more considerable expedition. Accordingly they sailed, nearly as I remember, some time in April, 1777, with the design of intercepting the Irish linen ships. They cruised some time in the Channel and Irish Sea, and missing the great object in view, they took, burnt, and sunk near twenty sail of vessels of small value, and sailing round Ireland returned into St. Maloes and Morlaix in France, with a part of their prizes. This caused great alarms in England and Ireland, raised the price of insurance, and brought over warm remonstrances from the British Ministry.

From Dunkirk, Mr. Hodge fitted out Captain Conyngham in a cutter, with the design of intercepting a rich packet-boat from Harwich, to destroy some of the transports carrying over the Hessian troops to England, and to cruise in the Northern Ocean. Captain Conyngham captured a packet-boat, and supposing he had intercepted important intelligence, unadvisedly returned into port. He also took a brig on his return. Mr. Hodge came up to Paris with the letters taken in the packet. Orders were sent from the court to restore the two prizes, to detain Captain Conyngham's vessel, and to imprison him and his people. These orders were executed ; but these expeditions caused a great sensation to the British commerce ; and for the first time since Britain was a maritime power, the River Thames and other of its ports were crowded with French and other ships taking in freight, in order to avoid the risk of having British property captured.

After the alarm had a little subsided, liberty was obtained to send Captain Conyngham and his people out of France, in another vessel. To effect this, Mr. Carmichael went with Mr. Hodge to Dunkirk, purchased and fitted out a second vessel well armed against the insults of British cruisers, and ordered Captain Conyngham not to cruise or commit hostilities on the coast of France. Captain Conyngham sailed with the resolution of following his orders, but he had not been long at sea before his people mutinied and obliged him to make prizes. This renewed the alarm in England, occasioned fresh and warm complaints from that side; to silence which, Mr. Hodge was confined in the Bastile for five or six weeks, where he was treated as well as a prisoner could be, and suffered in nothing but the confinement, which indeed was sufficiently severe to one of his spirit and feelings.

Captain Conyngham pursued his cruise, sailed round England and Ireland, and carried a prize with him into Spain, which, from the then situation of affairs there, turned to little account, as did also some others he afterwards captured.

Mr. Hodge from the first took an interest in the vessel, and advanced his proportion of the money; finding this adventure was now become an object too trifling to take up our attention, I proposed a sale of the public interest in the vessel to Mr. Ross and Mr. Hodge. Mr. Hodge delivered his accounts to Mr. A. Lee and went for Spain, but the bargain was never formally completed, owing to some difficulties on the part of Mr. Lee. While on the subject of marine affairs, I will here take the liberty to finish the information I have to give on those affairs. Orders were given to detain Captain Wicks and all the other armed American vessels, but after a few weeks they were permitted to sail. The Captains Johnson, Wicks, and others, drew on the Commissioners for the repairs of their vessels, whilst the commercial agent and others disposed of the prizes and rendered no account to the Commissioners; this

occasioned Dr. Franklin and myself to give orders to the Captains to order their prizes to the care and disposition of Mr. Williams. The amount of those expenses was, as will appear by the accounts, very large. Two valuable Jamaica ships were captured and brought into Nantes by armed vessels belonging to the subjects of these States, and put into the care of Mr. William Lee and Mr. Williams. After Mr. Williams had sold in the usual manner a part of their cargoes, and after Mr. Williams had advanced a considerable sum to the captains, the whole of the prizes by order from court were taken out of his hands, and confiscated to the king on account of their having entered as if coming from St. Eustatia, which proved to be a false entry, and afterwards they were by the king restored to their original owners. This was during the month of August, 1777. I had afterwards, with the assistance of Monsieur Chaumont, who interested himself in this affair, sufficient influence to obtain the most ample satisfaction to be made to the captors. The privateers were the Boston and the Hancock. The sum obtained for them in favor of the captors being four hundred and fifty thousand livres, or nineteen thousand six hundred and eighty-seven pounds and ten shillings sterling, in which affair Monsieur Chaumont and myself were solely active.

Captains Thomson and Hinman arrived in the month of November, 1777, in two of the continental frigates at Port L'Orient with two prizes, which they sold without difficulty, but at a low rate. Their equipments exceeded the continental share to a large amount, as will be seen in the general state of the public accounts.

Captain Cleveland arrived at Bordeaux in a merchant vessel chartered and loaded by order of Congress to the direction of Mr. Merkle, who had made a contract with the commercial committee, and was promised fifteen thousand pounds sterling, to be paid him in France. This gentleman, after purchasing a part of the goods, and being disappointed of the money promised him, was thrown into the most distressing situa-

tion, and Captain Cleveland, being unable to return, the Commissioners were in consequence obliged to advance money on that account, as will be seen in the general state of the account delivered; besides these different sums advanced by the Commissioners, they had to pay for packets to a considerable amount.

Before I return to the general thread of my narrative, I must in justice say that, through the whole of these embarrassments and apparent hard treatment from court, the result of political necessity, the American subjects of these States were everywhere kindly received by the people in France, and treated in the most friendly and hospitable manner. Equal justice to my colleagues as well as to myself obliges me also to say, that the principal part of this as well as of every other executive part of the public business was devolved on me.

Soon after receiving assurances of two millions of livres, it was proposed to appropriate a part thereof to the payment of the interest of the money then borrowing by Congress in America, and that we should write to Congress and inform them that the interest of their loan would be paid in Europe at the rate of five livres the dollar. I strenuously objected to this measure. My reasons against it were, first, that the lenders of the money in America had no right to, nor did they expect other money in payment of their interest than what they deposited in the loan office. That the exchange being in favor of Europe and against America, supposing the money lent to have been actually in specie, five livres in France must be of more value than a milled dollar in America. These appeared to me reasonable objections, if a depreciation took place on the Continental currency, but the money had actually begun to depreciate before the loan offices were opened, and how low it would fall was impossible to be foreseen. That the money we had, and the whole we could venture to count on receiving from the remittances to be made, would fall short of the demands upon us already, and those which

must be made upon us in the course of the year for supplies. It was easily made evident that no part of the Commissioners' stock actually in hand and expected, could be appropriated, were the other objections removed. The whole amount, including the million received of the Farmers General, was but three millions of livres, or one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

The Commissioners, through the agency of Sir George Grand, received general encouragement that the interest of the money borrowed in America should be paid in France, but never received anything in writing on the subject. Had a promise been ever so explicitly made for the interest of this sum, still my first objections remained, the last of them in full force, and a new and obvious one arose, which was, that if we could rely on the payment even of the interest of but five or ten millions of dollars in Europe, that sum might on this security be borrowed in Europe; which must at that very time have been of more than fifty per cent. more valuable than a loan of so much paper in America. To this it was answered, that it was of the last importance to keep up the credit of the Continental paper; that although the paper had begun to depreciate among individuals before they placed it in the public loan, yet the public ought not to know any difference between the paper and specie; that this measure would effectually prevent any future depreciation, and give the paper of Congress such a credit and circulation that the war might be carried on without any foreign loan; and many arguments were urged to shew that a foreign loan ought not to be made, if it could possibly be avoided. To me it appeared that a foreign loan was necessary, absolutely so, from the moment the paper emitted exceeded the amount of the specie necessary in circulation, for that, from that moment, a depreciation must commence. These were the arguments used, and, hoping for the best, I. submitted and joined in the letter wrote to the Secret Committee on that subject. After

which, to the time of my recall, I exerted what influence and address I was master of to obtain in writing or even verbally a promise of the interest to some certain amount, but without success, never obtaining more than general encouragement, and that commonly through a third person.

During Mr. Lee's absence a resolution of Congress was received, ordering the Commissioners to purchase a large number of suits of clothes for the army, number of brass cannon, to the amount of about two hundred, and to procure on loan, or otherwise, several ships of the line.

At the same time instructions were received to make additional proposals to France and Spain, to induce them to declare in our favor, and to negotiate a loan of money. With these dispatches came an order to the commercial agents to supply the Commissioners with money for the above mentioned purchases, and a commission appointing Dr. Franklin Commissioner to the Court of Spain.

On application to the French minister, which was in March, 1777, we received for answer that the proposals should be taken into consideration, but that no answer could be immediately given; that he could afford no assistance, either in procuring the cannon or ships; that as to the loan, we were at liberty to negotiate it on the best terms, only advising us not to offer a greater interest than France gave, as they were then borrowing; that he thought it prudent for us to use what funds we might have at command, and what credit we dare venture upon in procuring the most essential part of the supplies.

In addition to the other disbursements, a magazine of arms had been purchased at Nantes for two hundred and twenty thousand livres, which, with four hundred and fifty thousand livres advanced in payment for goods purchased by Mr. Ross for Congress, had diminished our original stock nearly one-half.

As to the loan, after much deliberation, Dr. Franklin

and myself proposed making a trial whether individuals could not be induced to advance money on the security which could be given them on the vacant lands. It was what had often been thought of, and the moneyed men seemed to listen to the plan ; but before we had made any proposals to them, or had digested the plan to be laid before Congress, we received a letter from the Secret Committee in answer to one we had before wrote them on the subject, that it was uncertain what vacant lands there were in America, and whether there were any, or words to that purpose. Previous to the receipt of this letter we had a prospect of a loan, having laid proposals before many capital houses and bankers ; but on this we dared to venture no further, and we set ourselves to do the best in our power with the money in hand, amounting at that time to little more than fifteen hundred thousand livres, or about sixty-five thousand pounds sterling.

A contract was made by Dr. Franklin and myself, Mr. Lee being absent, with Messrs. Holker, Sabbattier, fils, and Despriez, for ten thousand suits of clothes, afterwards increased to fifteen thousand, and for fifteen thousand pairs of stockings, &c.

A contract with Monsieur Monthieu for ten thousand suits and some smaller articles.

With Mr. Williams for ten thousand suits, a number of shirts, and shoes, &c.; and finding no proper vessels to be chartered on good terms, a frigate mounting thirty-two carriage guns, since commanded by Captain Nicholson, was contracted for, and a large ship, commanded by Captain Green, purchased, both which arrived safely in America with their cargoes.

A contract was also made with Monsieur Coder for about fifteen hundred suits, besides smaller purchases of shoes and other articles.

Mr. A. Lee was present at the making of a part of these contracts or purchases ; the more capital ones were made during his absence in Spain, and afterwards in Germany and Prussia.

Knowing how much these articles were wanted in America, and flattering ourselves that we should receive remittances in the course of the year, we ventured to engage far beyond our capital in hand.

Our expenses for the relief of Americans escaping from prison in England, and for other contingencies, increased daily on us.

Mr. Lee went no further than Burgos, the Court of Madrid having been, as it was said, advertised of his coming and errand, through his indiscretion in communicating it to many, and fearing the consequences, sent and stopped him there, where the minister met him. As he has sent an account of his negotiations to Congress, I refer to that, and need only say here, that besides the supplies which he procured to be shipped by the house of Gadroqui from Bilboa to Boston, about two hundred thousand livres were remitted to Paris, which Mr. Lee, on receiving his commission for Madrid, took the direction of, and the Commissioners at Paris were never permitted to make any use of it towards discharging the contracts they had made in France.

Soon after Mr. Lee's return, he was made acquainted with what had been done in his absence. Mr. Holker, who had the management and direction of the principal contract, waited on Mr. Lee, to inform him of the fashion in which he proposed the coats should be made, and to consult him on an improvement of the lapels by continuing them quite down, so as to join the waistband of the breeches, which would take about one-sixteenth of an auln of cloth and four buttons more than the usual fashion; but that it would guard the body from the cold in the most tender part of it, &c.

Mr. Holker and the gentlemen with him met with the most disgusting reception; everything was by Mr. Lee found fault with. Mr. Holker very patiently heard him, and pertinently answered his several objections; that as to the improvement on the lapels, it was so great, and the expense so very trifling, that sooner than

give it up, he would even be content to throw the extra expense out of his account. To which Mr. Lee replied, that if he did, he had still an objection which could not be got over. It was the additional weight of the four buttons and one-sixteenth of an auln of cloth, which, he said, must help to fatigue the soldier in his marching. Mr. Holker and the other gentlemen at this lost all patience, and refused ever after to have anything to do with him, as did also almost every other person with whom we had formed any connections. I mention this, though a trifling circumstance in itself, to show the character of Mr. Lee as to business in the commercial way, and the necessity I was under of taking in a manner the whole executive part on myself, which I constantly proceeded in with the advice and approbation of Dr. Franklin, and also on account of Mr. Lee's having since, in his letters to Congress, peremptorily declared that he was never made acquainted with those contracts.

It is a delicate subject, but justice requires me to say that the jealous disposition of Mr. Lee, which led him to apprehend designs injurious to him in every one he dealt with, and the liberties he took in expressing himself on that and on other subjects, gave a general disgust, and often proved prejudicial to our affairs.

After Mr. Lee's return from Spain, I proposed to go to Holland, where I had previously, and from the first of my being in France, established a correspondence, and thence northward, in hopes of doing something towards obtaining a loan and other supplies, but the situation of affairs would not admit of my leaving Paris. Mr. Lee undertook the journey, and at Berlin had the misfortune to have his papers stolen, of which, with other transactions during his journey, he has, I presume, informed Congress.

Some time in February, or early in March, 1777, I received in a letter from Mr. Robert Morris, information that Mr. William Lee, then in London, was appointed commercial agent jointly with Mr. Thomas Morris, then

at Nantes. I informed Mr. Lee of the intelligence I had received by the post, but received no answer; and he arrived at Paris some time in June.

During the absence of Mr. Arthur Lee at Berlin, he tarried until his return, and soon after went to Nantes.

The commercial affairs of the Congress were then greatly deranged, and Mr. William Lee, as I was informed by Mr. Williams' letters, by which it appears that Mr. William Lee told him that having a considerable interest in London, and his family still there, he chose for the present not to act, or be known publicly in American affairs, contenting himself with only joining with Mr. T. Morris in complaining, in a letter to the Commissioners, of their appointing Mr. Williams to take the charge of the prizes sent into Nantes by the Continental vessels; and soon after receiving a commission for he Court of Vienna, and a commission for the Court of Berlin, he returned to Paris, and again complained of the appointment of Mr. Williams, and of the irregularities of his colleague. What passed in this conversation I have already laid before Congress in writing, in my observations on Mr. Izard's letter, which I shall beg leave to read.

Mr. William Lee continued in Paris until some time in March, excepting going to Nantes to take possession of the late Mr. Thomas Morris' papers. In February, the Commissioners paid to him and to Ralph Izard, Esq., who had been appointed commissioner to the Court of Tuscany, forty-eight thousand livres or two thousand louis d'ors each to enable them to proceed to execute their respective commissions.

Mr. William Lee made several complaints respecting Mr. Williams' having the care of the prizes sent into Nantes, and of the Continental ships of war which arrived, being addressed to him, to which he was answered that we had conceived the appointment came within our power and instructions; that everything was in disorder at Nantes when he was appointed, and that, if he, Mr. William Lee, had been there himself, and

acting as commercial agent, the appointment would not have been made; that Mr. Williams had served the public ably and faithfully; but that as he had much other business on hand, there was no objection to his giving up that part; but a difference arising between the Commissioners on the letter proposed to be sent, no order was given.

Mr. William Lee being about to set out for Vienna, appointed deputies under him in the commercial department in different ports. Mr. Williams wrote me that although he had hitherto done the business at a moderate rate, with the view of serving his country, he could by no means accept of Mr. William Lee's offer of dividing the commissions with him, but would sooner resign the business entirely. I confess, the thought of losing so able, faithful, and active a person, and one who had rendered himself agreeable to the citizens and merchants of France, hurt me, but I could not as his friend advise him to submit to such ignominious conditions as those proposed to him. Mr. Williams' letter before Congress, which I shall beg leave to read, will show his way of thinking, and the treatment he has met with. To return a little in my narrative :—

By the month of August, 1777, all the stores M. Beaumarchais had procured were shipped, excepting those at Marseilles, where a ship had been in readiness from the month of December preceding; taking advantage at this time of some favorable circumstances, M. Beaumarchais found an opportunity of shipping them.

M. Monthieu, from whom the ship had been originally chartered, represented that the whole of his freight had not been paid him for the ships already sent out. That one had been taken, and the others detained in America, for which he ought to be allowed; that the ship then at Marseilles, chartered by the ton, had been long on expense to him. I consulted with Dr. Franklin, and we agreed that Monsieur Chaumont should settle the allowance that should be made him on his return from Marseilles; on which he set out and dispatched

the ship, which fortunately arrived at Portsmouth. After the return of Monsieur Monthieu, M. Chaumont declined meddling at first, on account of the difficulty he said there was in doing any business with Mr. Lee, and as M. Monthieu's contract for clothing was not completed, a settlement was put off, that the whole concern with him might be finished together.

In September, 1777, I laid before my colleagues a general state of our expenditures and engagements, by which it appeared that they far exceeded our funds; and no remittances from America, but on the contrary bills were drawn on us from thence by order of Congress for large sums; we were greatly embarrassed; the most unfavorable intelligence arriving at the same time from America, we were wellnigh discouraged. It was proposed, even by Dr. Franklin, that we should dispose of a part of the clothing provided, and of the ships engaged, to extricate our affairs.

To avoid so desperate a step, fresh applications were made; and the Court going to Fontainbleau, I went there repeatedly in the most private manner, and in the end Monsieur Grand was authorized to supply us with three millions of livres, in four equal or quarterly payments for the year 1778. This enabled the Commissioners to go on with the supplies contracted for; though by the appearance which our affairs then took, and the unfavorable intelligence from America, we were still greatly embarrassed.

During the summer of 1777, previous to the knowledge of the situation and success of the armies in America arriving in Europe, distant hints were given by the friends of the administration in England about an accommodation, and Dr. Berkenhout, who Mr. Lee informed us was in the confidence of Lord North, went so far as to correspond with Mr. A. Lee on the subject, and to propose a meeting with him; but suggested, that as it was reported that there was not a good understanding between the Commissioners, it would be to little or no purpose. Mr. Lee was authorized to say to him, that we knew of

no difference subsisting between us that ought to prevent any propositions being made to him for the public good.

Soon after this, the news arrived of the success of General Burgoyne to the northward at Ticonderoga, &c., and of the expedition of General Howe.

I heard no more of Dr. Berkenhout until his imprisonment in this city.

The assurances of the three millions before mentioned, enabled us to go on with the supplies; but from the extraordinary vigilance of the British emissaries, and the unfavorable appearance of the affairs of these States at that time, and previous to the receiving of the news of General Burgoyne's surrender, we proceeded with the utmost caution and secrecy.

The ship, building in Holland, had from the first been carried on under the name of another person; yet from the intelligence published in London, soon after the loss of Mr. Lee's papers at Berlin, we found that this transaction as well as some others had transpired, and that it would not be in our power to get the ships to sea, without great and inevitable risk of a capture. In France, the frigate and other business carrying on at Nantes we were obliged to conceal under other names, notwithstanding which, we met with many, and to appearance, insuperable obstacles, which rose in succession until some time in the winter following.

In November, the Amphitrite returned with a cargo of rice, and a trifle of indigo, after having been near twelve months detained, from her first being taken into the service of these States. This cargo, and one of lumber and spars, shipped in the Mercury from Portsmouth, were to this time the only remittances made for the stores shipped out by Monsieur Beaumarchais. The captain, I have already mentioned, was imprisoned for breach of his engagements, and the Commissioners proposing to apply the proceeds of the cargo of the Amphitrite to the demands then upon them, M. Beaumarchais represented that the large sums he had ad-

vanced had exhausted his resources and those of his friends, and the want of remittances had discouraged them. And that if he was deprived of a cargo, which would but little more than pay the hire and expenses of the ship, his affairs would become truly desperate, as he should then have no hopes of anything. The Commissioners therefore delivered him the cargo.

Several persons had reported to the Commissioners that the cannon and warlike stores shipped by him would be taken on [account of] the ministry. They reported this as coming from the minister; but on application, which I several times made in person, I never obtained any such assurance, or even encouragement from them. On the last application I made, I was told that the Congress would do well to make remittances as fast as they could, according to my engagements with him, and that it would be best to have the account finally settled in France. To this purpose the Commissioners, on my reporting to them, wrote to the Secret Committee.

Dr. Bancroft having been involved in the suspicion of being privy to the firing the stores at Portsmouth, and finding himself growing obnoxious to the administration and their partisans in London, left England early in the year 1777, and came to Paris, where he most assiduously devoted his time and abilities to the service of his country, and assisted the Commissioners in writing for them, and by keeping up a correspondence with his friends in London, from whom good and useful intelligence was obtained.

In December, Mr. Austin arrived from Boston with the reviving and important news of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army. This was, if I may so say, like a sovereign cordial to the dying. It roused and reanimated the friends of America in every part of Europe.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, the Commissioners sent one Mr. Thornton, a person who had been introduced to Dr. Franklin, to London, with

money for the American prisoners. After his return, he was employed by Mr. A. Lee as his secretary, and was afterwards sent by him to London and Nantes, on affairs which the other Commissioners were not acquainted with. The more I knew and heard of this man, the more I found him, at least, to be imprudent.

The interview with his Excellency, Monsieur Gerard, on the 16th of December, and what passed, have been fully related to Congress in the dispatches sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and Captain Courter.

The jealous and uneasy disposition of Mr. A. Lee, which had from the first given Dr. Franklin and myself much trouble, had been constantly increasing; and his dissatisfaction with, and contempt of, the French nation in general, which he took no pains to conceal, often gave us pain, and rendered himself suspected by many.

Soon after the arrival of the news of General Burgoyne's defeat, applications were, by various ways, made to Dr. Franklin and myself, separately, and in a secret manner, by the British emissaries, to agree to an accommodation, and flattering proposals made, with which we acquainted each other, and afterwards communicated them to the minister.

Mr. A. Lee now indulged his natural disposition so far that my colleague, Dr. Franklin, was of opinion that his head was affected. However that might be, after every article of the treaties were agreed to between his Excellency, Monsieur Gerard and the Commissioners, and whilst they were engrossing to be signed, Mr. Lee expressed great uneasiness, and intimated to Dr. Franklin and myself that he could not sign them unless altered in the eleventh and twelfth Articles; on which we referred him to Monsieur Gerard, who, he afterwards told us had satisfied him on the subject, and in consequence thereof he signed the treaty jointly with us on the 6th of February, at my house in Paris; and an engagement was given on each side that the transaction should be kept a secret.

The frigate sent out with the dispatches, by Mr. Simeon Deane, meeting with an accident at sea, returned into port soon after the signing of the treaties, and a second was immediately dispatched, in which he embarked with copies of them.

In the month of February, Mr. Fox declared, in the House of Commons, that the treaties were executed, and named the day. This caused many speculations and suspicions, which, whether well or ill founded, were attended with no material ill consequences at the time, as the treaties were soon after publicly announced at the Court of London by the ambassador of France.

I had never any correspondence in London previous to my first going to Europe, nor afterwards, excepting with Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. William Lee, and with one or two Americans accidentally there on business. M. Petry, a gentleman of character, indeed, showed me a letter from his friend in London, in which he sent him an extract of a letter which he had received from Mr. A. Lee, dated the 6th of February, the day the treaty was signed, addressed to him in London, informing him generally of the event which had taken place. I mention this, as some pains have been taken to represent as if the intelligence was given by Dr. Franklin or myself.

To expedite the recovery of the two Jamaica prizes detained at Nantes, Mr. Carmichael, who was coming out to America, went down to Nantes, and it was agreed to send our dispatches after him. When they were ready, Mr. A. Lee insisted that they should not be sent by him, but by a Mr. Stephenson, who had just come to Paris from London. Dr. Franklin and myself insisted upon sending them by Mr. Carmichael. Mr. Lee urged his suspicions of Mr. Carmichael, founded on the affair of the Dictionary before mentioned, of which I had heard nothing from the first transaction to that moment. This appeared the more extraordinary, as the Dictionary had been, for some time after Mr. Lee's being in Paris, in common use on my table as a

Dictionary, and he had never mentioned anything to either Dr. Franklin or myself about it until that time. A dispute arose thereon, needless to be related, and Dr. Franklin and myself sent on the dispatches as we had first agreed, by Mr. Carmichael. Mr. A. Lee, Mr. W. Lee, and Mr. Izard sent theirs by Mr. Stephenson.

The first great object of our labors and wishes being now obtained in the treaties, I set myself to complete what I considered as the secondary, that of obtaining a loan in Holland for these States. I had previously corresponded and made interest with some of the principal houses in Holland on the subject, and was assured of the credit and assistance of some persons in high rank in France.

The stores and clothing were then nearly all shipped, and arrangements taken for the payment as the accounts should be brought in and the money become due. As it would take two or three months to have the several accounts collected, I proposed the spending that time in Holland on the negotiation, when, on the 4th of March, I received a letter from the Hon. Mr. Lovell with the order of Congress of the 8th of December, 1777. I communicated this letter to Dr. Franklin, who was of opinion that though the dispatches sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and by Captain Courter would give the state of affairs in Europe to Congress, yet as we had received no letters from Congress for several months, and as we had proof of the intrigues and artifices of the enemy, it was best for me, notwithstanding the unsettled state of the public accounts, to return; he urged that my detention in America could not be for any time, and that, accidents excepted, I might be back in France in season for their final settlement.

Having taken his advice I waited on the minister, and acquainted him with my recall. I found him uneasy on account of some reports that were circulating, and particularly so on the report of the appointment and going out of the Commissioners for America, an event which soon after took place. He told me that a frigate, or

even a ship of the line should be instantly ready to go out with me, and that, with respect to the affairs in France, which I must necessarily leave unsettled, they would not probably suffer in my absence. Finding it a favorable occasion, I took the liberty, as an individual, to urge an immediate declaration of the treaties to the Court of London, and the sending out of a strong squadron, then nearly ready at Toulon. After several interviews on the subject, the measure was adopted, and I engaged that the affair should be a secret on my part to all, excepting Dr. Franklin and Dr. Bancroft, with whom my situation was such that it could not be concealed from them; to the former it was told by orders of the minister. I had to induce the minister to order the fleet direct to the Delaware, laid before him the great certainty of the success, as well as urged the greatness of the object. I also informed him that I could procure four brave and skilful American captains, acquainted with the American coast, to embark in the fleet with me, which I was desired to do, and I engaged Captain All, Captains H. and E. Johnson, and Captain Nicholson, and presented them to the minister.

On the 19th of March, 1778, the Commissioners were publicly presented to the king, and on the night of the 31st I secretly left Paris with the four gentlemen above mentioned, having previously agreed with Monsieur Gerard on the different routes we should take, and written such letters and taken such measures as would most probably cover our real designs.

Previous to my setting out, I obtained of M. Grand, our banker, an account of all the moneys received or paid out on the public account, which I brought with me, and which has been for some time before Congress; which account must, nevertheless, be liable to be misunderstood without my personal presence, complicated, extensive, and unsettled as they naturally were. Duplicates were also given to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, and I left with the former what public papers were in my hands and an explanation of the accounts. It was all

that the little time I had would permit me to do, the greater part of the accounts being then unsettled, without which, no general account could be made, and the order for my recall and Mr. Lovell's letter, which were all the information I received of the motives for my recall, giving me to understand that the desire of Congress pointed to an information of the state of affairs in Europe, I by no means conceived that I was so suddenly called upon to render in an exact state of an account which demanded necessarily a much longer time to complete than was allowed me by the terms of the recall; nor, in addition to this, could I possibly conceive that the nature of the recall was such as to require of me, individually, an account of the joint transactions in money matters of myself and colleagues. My other papers I lodged in a place of safety.

I ought to mention that copies of the correspondence of the Commissioners on political subjects, and other papers of a political nature, had been kept by Dr. Franklin from his first arrival. Living with him in the same house, I had not the necessity of copies of them, which prevents at this time my being so exact as I wish, as to dates, and has occasioned a longer time in reducing my narrative to writing.

I fell in with M. Gerard on my way to Toulon, and we embarked together, happy in the great prospects before us. I arrived in this city on the 13th of July last.

On the review of this general narrative, it will be found that at different periods I have acted in three different characters.

From my leaving America (in March, 1776), to the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, I acted as the sole political and commercial agent under Congress; from their arrival until my recall (received March 4th, 1778), as joint Commissioner with them to the Court of Versailles only, and at the same time in carrying into execution my former engagements; and from that time

until my sailing for America (in April, 1778), as an individual desirous of improving every opportunity of being useful; in which last capacity, I had the happiness to induce the Court of France to order the Count d'Estaing's fleet to America.

Just before my setting out, I received a letter from his Excellency the Count de Vergennes to me, with an honorable token from his Majesty of his approbation of my conduct whilst in France. I was honored with one at the same time for the President of Congress, and my venerable friend and late colleague at parting put one into my hand. I also received one from him at Toulon, which letters I will take the liberty of reading at the close of my narrative.

Having been perhaps tedious already, I will not take up more of the time of Congress by making those observations which I at first intended, on my situation and conduct at different periods; the chief of them are obvious to every one. I need only say that in my first and last characters I took the best advice I could obtain, and acted as I judged was for the greatest advantage to these States, consistently with my instructions and powers.

In the second, I acted jointly with one or both of my colleagues; and though, as I have before said, and it is well known in Europe, as well as in America, the executive part of the business lay chiefly on me, I never undertook anything without the advice and approbation of at least one of my colleagues. I can but observe that Mr. A. Lee and Mr. Izard, with the latter of whom I never transacted any business whatever, appear sensible of this, and have therefore joined Dr. Franklin and myself together in the illiberal and injurious letters they have written to Congress since my departure from France, which, with my observations on them, I take the liberty to read.

I confess I feel a pride in having my name joined with so great a patriot and so venerable a character, and am content that the present age and posterity also

should be informed that Mr. A. Lee and Mr. Izard complained of me, if at the same time it be known that a Franklin was *my guide, philosopher, and friend.*

It is now three years since my engaging in the foreign affairs of Congress; near four since I have visited my family, or attended to my private concerns, but from the moment I engaged I put everything private out of the question. And the anxiety I have suffered, and the impatience I have expressed under the delays I have met with, have arisen from the situation of the affairs and interest of these States, more particularly in Europe.

It is now eight months since I left France, and more than five that I have been in this city. The letters that I have had the honor of writing to Congress, and the observations I have taken the liberty of making on some important subjects, are before this honorable House; they will at least shew my uniform and constant wish to render my country every service in my power.

The unsettled state of the affairs I had the honor of being concerned in transacting in Europe, either by myself, or jointly with my colleagues, have long pressed for my return.

I confess that the great and important crisis to which the politics of Europe are now arrived, has lain with still greater weight on my mind, as I see the present peace and tranquillity of these States so nearly connected with, and dependent on the events they may produce, and that soon. I presume the present state of affairs in Europe is better known to Congress than to me; yet from comparing the present appearances which they put on with what I knew them to be last winter, and from the knowledge I had an opportunity of acquiring whilst in France, I am fully convinced that Great Britain is exerting her whole influence, both in Europe and America, to draw off these States from their alliance with France, or to render it ineffectual; and that the British ministry, besides their usual practices of attempting to negotiate secretly with individuals,

will avail themselves of every advantage which the present prospect and appearances of a general war in Europe may possibly afford to bring about this favorite object of theirs; in short, that no period in the history of these States was ever more critical and important than the present, nor any one for ages past more so in Europe since on the issue of the negotiations of the mighty powers now in arms, the peace and tranquillity of more than half of the world depend.

From the secret attempts made to negotiate with me in France just before the treaties were signed, and with Dr. Franklin afterwards, I was very apprehensive of the dangerous designs of Dr. Berkenhout; when I heard of his being in prison in this city, which was the first knowledge I had of his being in America, and when I heard of his return to New York, I was surprised, and concluded that some public inquiry had been made, the result of which had satisfied those who ordered him to be apprehended; but confident on my part that his designs were prejudicial to these States, I did what lay in my power as an individual to detect them, and to put my countrymen on their guard. The Dr., on his landing at Staten Island, threw off the mask, and freely declared that he had effected the business of his journey, or, as he said, had got what he came for; that he had been assured that these States were at liberty to make peace without consulting their ally. He shewed letters which he had carried from hence, and among others one for Governor Johnstone, one of the British Commissioners, whom he advised to obtain the release of Colonel Conolly from prison, and to send him to join Colonel Butler to lay waste our frontiers, to effect which, should it be refused, he advised them to recall all prisoners out on parole; but, as several of the honorable executive council of this State have seen and conversed with the person with whom the Dr. travelled on his journey to New York, and have been told all, and more than was communicated to me, I need not say more on the subject than this, which cannot be too often re-

peated : that, at this time, these States are in danger from the arts, rather than from the arms of their enemies.

In reducing the account of my agency for these States to writing, I have introduced many circumstances and anecdotes into the body of it which I did not mention at my audience on the 21st of August, as I then designed to confine myself at first, almost solely to those transactions and affairs which passed immediately through my hands, expecting to have finished everything I thought worthy of laying before Congress in a very few days at farthest.

It always gave me pain to think of being laid under the necessity of speaking of the jealous, uneasy, and captious disposition of my late colleague, Mr. A. Lee. I evaded doing it as long as it was in my power, and have now said much less on the subject, and on his rude and disgusting manner in which he constantly spoke of the French nation, and treated many of the individuals, than what has been often said and wrote by Dr. Franklin, to whom I freely appeal, and also to those gentlemen who had an opportunity of being acquainted with Mr. Lee's stile of speaking and conducting on many occasions.

With respect to his brother, the Honorable William Lee, Esq., I think it my duty to declare that it was the opinion of Dr. Franklin and myself, from the little concerns we had with him, as well as the opinion of others who did business with him, that he was by no means calculated to gain the esteem and confidence either of individuals or public bodies, but the reverse, from his suspicious turn of mind, his total want of confidence in those with whom he attempted to do business, and from a disposition which was penurious to an extreme, and which common to him with his brother, Mr. A. Lee, often led both the one and the other to littlenesses, extremely disgusting to a gallant and polite people, and in a degree prejudicial to the character of the country they represented.

I beg leave to return to the letter written by Mr. A. Lee of the 1st of June last, and my observations, which I had the honor of writing to Congress on the 12th of October last, on those extracts of it which were by order communicated to me. I hope the rather to be indulged in this, as I find that in consequence of that letter and other misrepresentations, the part I acted between the 4th of March last, the time when I was first acquainted with my recall, and the time of my leaving Paris on the 31st of the same month, has, by artful men, been turned to my disadvantage; not that complaints have been made against what I really did, which indeed is not generally known; but it has been weakly insinuated that instead of pursuing the great and important line of conduct which I was happily successful in, beyond even my own expectations, and the most sanguine hopes of my friend and late colleague, Dr. Franklin, I ought to have considered the order of Congress and the letter of the Honorable Mr. Lovell as a summons to render an account of my private conduct, and to settle the joint accounts of myself and colleagues; and consequently that it was my duty to collect all the accounts then outstanding, and the vouchers; to have settled at once up to that time all the concerns and engagements of myself and colleagues, and render on my return an exact and minute state thereof. I could have done this, it is true, and to the uttermost farthing, had I thought the pressing and urgent call of Congress on me to inform them *of "the state of affairs in Europe,"* could be construed to mean any such thing. I did not think so. Dr. Franklin and the honorable personages I was acquainted with, and who honored me with their friendship and counsel, never dreamed of such a construction; and I have too high an opinion of the open and candid mode of the conduct of Congress, towards those they have honored with public confidence and employments, to harbor for a moment the idea that this was their intention in the order they sent me.

From the circumstances of affairs in France, as well as in England, objects of the greatest importance presented themselves.

The obtaining a public declaration to be made of the alliance, to that time kept secret, and such a fleet to come out as should not only convince America of the power, as well as of the generosity of France, and not only relieve this capital, but at one blow reduce the whole power of Britain in America; these objects appeared to me so great that the obtaining them was, in my view, sufficient to satisfy the utmost of my ambition or wishes. To this I applied myself, and was fortunately successful. It is no vanity or presumption in me to say that it was, next to concluding the treaties, the greatest and most important service that could, in any circumstances, be rendered to this country, and that the application was made, and the design effected by myself solely. These are facts well known and acknowledged even by my enemies.

The absolute necessity of secrecy and dispatch after the measures were resolved on, which was not until the 10th of last March, left me but little time for making the most common preparations for my voyage. It even forbid me to bid adieu to my generous and honorable patrons and friends, much less to call in accounts from the most distant parts of the kingdom, and from Holland; yet what could be done in the time I did. I obtained from the banker an exact account of all the moneys received or paid out on account of these States, from the first arrival of the Commissioners to the day of my leaving Paris, and I sent a duplicate of the same to Mr. Lee. With Dr. Franklin I left another, and also a full, general explanation of every payment made, with such papers and vouchers as I had on hand.

I presented Congress early with a general, and afterwards, on the 12th of October, with the particular accounts of the receipt and payment of public money, being a duplicate of the banker's account.

In the course of my observations on the extracts of Mr. Arthur Lee's letter of the 1st of June, I have been so particular that I will now only throw together certain facts, and afterwards submit all that gentleman has wrote to be judged of by the Congress.

Mr. Lee asserts :—

1st. That he cannot find any satisfaction as to the expenditures of the public money, and says : "all we can find is, that millions have been expended, and almost everything remains to be paid for."

It has been proved that Mr. Lee had, when he wrote this letter, an account in his hands of all the expenditures of the public money until I left Paris, of the sums paid, and to whom.

2d. That one hundred thousand livres had been advanced to Mr. Hodge for the purchase of a vessel which cost but three thousand pounds sterling, or seventy-two thousand livres, &c.

The truth is, Mr. Hodge did not in the whole receive that sum, and he purchased and fitted out two vessels instead of one.

3d. Speaking of the contracts, he says : "You will see that my name is not to the contracts."

The fact is, he was not in France when the principal part of them was made.

4th. He says there was the greatest profusion and dissipation in the purchases.

The cloths are now in use in the army, and a suit complete delivered on board cost but thirty-two or thirty-three shillings sterling, and better cloths no army was ever furnished with.

5th. He says that Mr. Williams had received near a million of livres without accounting, &c.

The truth is, Mr. Lee was privy to the contracts made with Mr. Williams, and signed the orders for the principal part of the money put into his hands by the Commissioners ; and when he wrote the letter, he could not be ignorant that Mr. Williams was then adjusting his accounts for a settlement, which was actually made,

to the satisfaction of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, but a few weeks after.

6th. Mr. Lee says, that the contracts were industriously concealed from him, &c.

His dispute already mentioned, with Mr. Holker, the principal contractor (now the honorable agent of France in America), about the lapels and buttons, and his assisting personally to settle those accounts, and himself afterwards signing the bills for the payment therefor (for the truth of this, I freely appeal to Mr. Holker and to M. Grand's account delivered), is a sufficient answer, though, as it is a direct contradiction to his assertion, it hurts me to give it, and would pain me exceedingly, were it not that I am disposed, from these and like circumstances, to join in sentiment with Dr. Franklin as to his unhappy situation. I will now leave him, and the representations alluded to, to be determined on by Congress.

7th. Conscious of the truth of what I have so generally related, and flattering myself that the whole of it will be remembered by this honorable Assembly, I do not feel myself under the necessity of making a particular recapitulation, but generally entreat this honorable Assembly, in their considering the narrative I have given, in the first place, to take into view the three different periods of my agency abroad for the public, viz. :—

The first, from my leaving America until the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee in Paris.

The second is from that time until the 4th of March, 1778, the day of my receiving my recall ; and the third is thence to my leaving France ; and that my situation and conduct may be considered and strictly examined in each of these three different situations and periods, and also what assistance I received, and what services I performed.

In the first, my situation was such as I venture to say no public minister or agent ever before found himself in. During this period, in a manner, the whole of the artil-

lery, tents, arms, and other stores for the campaign of 1777, were procured by me; the ships engaged to transport them to America, and actually loaded or ready to load with them, and as skilful and gallant a corps o officers of artillery and engineers of family and connections every way honorable, engaged to go out with the stores, as ever (I confidently say it) embarked in any enterprise whatever. Though my contracts with them may have been considered as being beyond the powers I was vested with, and an error in me, this by no means lessens the abilities and character of those gallant officers, or the importance of the supplies obtained partly through my engagements with those officers and their connections in France. It is with pleasure I find that those of them who were employed and served in America have fully justified the characters given of them to me at first by my honorable friends, their relations and patrons, and that they have shewn themselves, in the opinion of Congress, deserving of higher ranks than what I contracted with them for. At the same time I cannot forbear saying, that the personal distresses and chagrin which others of them have undergone, deeply affects me.

One fortunate circumstance I cannot but mention and congratulate my country upon; it is, that of eight vessels which were taken up by me, and loaded with these stores, one only fell into the hands of the enemy, and that one after a considerable part of her cargo had been landed in Martinico. I mean the ship L'Seine, betrayed through the villany of an ungrateful and abandoned American, one Davis, formerly of Boston.

During the second period, it will be found on examination that my situation was equally peculiar; being joined with two colleagues, one of which Dr. Franklin and myself were so unhappy as to differ with, and the public business intrusted to us exceedingly important, pressing, and embarrassed, and, at times, to appearance desperate.

Availing myself of the perfect confidence and friendship which mutually subsisted between my colleague Dr.

Franklin and myself, I took the burden of the executive part of American affairs on myself.

No remittances were made from America; on the contrary, large drafts for money were sent over from Congress. The whole sum received in Europe amounted to only about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, to answer every demand.

During this period, and thus situated, besides the private as well as public important services executed, near forty thousand suits of clothes complete, shirts, shoes, stockings, and smaller articles to a considerable amount, arms, ammunition, supplies for ships, cannon, a frigate entirely new of thirty-two guns, a larger ship mounting sixteen, and smaller vessels were purchased and procured, and the vessels loaded and sent out to America, where fortunately they all arrived seasonably for the campaign of 1778.

In the execution of this, as well as of every other part of the business executed by me, I was assisted and directed by the advice and concurrence of my colleague, Dr. Franklin; and as uniformly vexed, and at times embarrassed, by the incessant uneasiness and murmurings of Mr. Lee, who took no part in the execution of any part of the above business of supplies.

In addition to the executing the business above mentioned, the Continental ships of war, prizes, and other ships which arrived in France, or were sent out from thence, on account of these States, formed a most complicated and embarrassing part of our affairs, the management of which was devolved entirely on me.

The captains and others who arrived ever paid the utmost respect to my colleague, Dr. Franklin, and advised with him; but from his advanced age, and never having been conversant in maritime affairs, they never looked to him for the dispatch of their concerns and commissions. And as to Mr. Lee, the most any of them could be brought to do with him was to pay him those ceremonious civilities never to be dispensed with to men in office.

I kept up at the same time a regular correspondence in the different ports and capital trading towns in France, and in other commercial states, particularly in Holland, besides other correspondence of a political nature, and an extensive one with merchants in different parts of Europe, who had turned their attention towards a commerce with the subjects of these States. This general correspondence of mine, and the continual applications made to me by merchants in Paris, and from other places, gave Mr. Lee great jealousy, and led him to imagine me to be deeply concerned myself; a suspicion totally groundless; for neither in the ships which I chartered, before or after his arrival, had I ever shipped one shilling of private property, or made to myself one shilling advantage; and with the merchants who solicited me for information and advice, I had never any interest excepting two adventures which I engaged in whilst under the character of a merchant, one of which was taken by the enemy, the other arriving, made good my loss. Excepting these, though I had before been engaged in commerce, and had then two brothers actually engaged in it in America, I never, as it is well known, shipped anything to either of them, excepting some trifles in the family way.

During the whole of the two first periods, I was generously and ably assisted by Mr. Carmichael and Dr. Bancroft, at their own expense of time and even money in part, as only a part of their expenses of living was paid by the Commissioners, and I never burdened the public with the expenses either of a secretary or clerk. These gentlemen who thus disinterestedly served their country, I am confident will be properly considered by Congress.

I had on my hands also during the second period until September, 1777, when the last ship sailed, the business of shipping out the stores which I contracted for in the first period.

The part I acted during the short space of time which forms the third period is well known, and it is with the

greatest pleasure I this day see this honorable Assembly and these United States enjoying those advantages which have resulted from it, which though not so great and decisive as we had a right at the time to expect, and promised ourselves, are, notwithstanding, too well felt to require my enlarging on them.

The letters before Congress from Dr. Franklin, and other great and distinguished personages in France, who were intimately acquainted with my whole transactions, will shew with what degree of reputation, while in France, I conducted myself in the affairs of these States, to which I applied myself with such attention, that during near two years' residence in France, I never appropriated a single day to any private business of my own, nor even to amusement; but confined myself entirely to the business I was engaged in, never having so much as left Paris or the Court during the whole of that time, excepting on a journey to Havre for a little relaxation, and where the public accounts and other business of these States called me.

Before I close, I ask the attention of Congress to what respects, not only myself personally, but also the public.

It is now three years since my entering on the negotiations which I have had the honor of relating. The settlement of the public accounts, which I am exceedingly anxious for, will shew, whether, during that time, I have applied one shilling of the public moneys to my own use. It is well known that my private fortune in America, which at the time I left my country was moderate, has not been augmented, but the contrary, by my absence; and I now assure Congress that, except a few pieces of silk sent out to the care of my brother, the effects of which he left with me, and for which I am accountable, and one hundred guineas or louis d'ors for pocket money, I brought nothing with me from France excepting my clothes.

I should not have troubled Congress with mentioning these circumstances, trifling in themselves, had not reports been industriously propagated, that I had been

largely concerned in private commerce, and amassed a large fortune thereby. Those who know me personally, know in how light a scale I have ever held my private interest when that of my country presented itself, as coming in the least in competition with it.

When Congress and the public reflect on the opportunities then in my hands of advancing my private fortune without injuring the public, they will be convinced of the same; for had I sent but one or two trunks or packages in each of the ships, which every agent it is well known is always entitled to, or indulged in, such was the situation of American commerce, I well knew I could have made a fortune equal to my wants or wishes. I never lost a moment on the subject.

I must add that when urged to come out in a frigate or ship of the line, instead of insisting on the fleet from Toulon, it was urged to me as an inducement that I could transport with safety any articles I might wish to carry out with me, and which, considering the long time I had been absent, might be of consequence to me and my family, and which by sailing from Brest I might improve, whereas I could not do it at Toulon — the part I preferred is known. I will not boast of sacrifices when serving my country; I study to know only what is my duty, nor ever think of sacrifices; much less can I ever bring myself to boast of anything I have done, or may do, or suffer, as being sacrifices.

Since my attending the pleasure of Congress in this city, I have repeatedly taken the liberty to express, in my letters to Congress, the situation I found myself in, and my anxiety to finish the errand I returned upon. I presume that no one will censure me for an unbecoming impatience, who considers the trust that had been reposed in me, the great and extensive affairs I had been concerned in, the circumstances of my leaving France, and how prejudicial a silent delay of months must prove to that character and reputation with my countrymen which I flattered myself I had merited, and which I looked for as the only valuable reward of my labors;

and when they add to these considerations the insinuations of my enemies, that this delay was on account of the dissatisfaction of Congress with my conduct, and meant as a mark of their displeasure, though I can by no means bring myself to believe that Congress, when dissatisfied with their servants, will not instantly tell them of it, in the most explicit terms, as well as in what they have offended; yet from a resolution passed in Congress on the 21st day of September last, ordering Mr. Carmichael to be examined respecting my character and conduct in France, unfavorable inferences may be drawn, I again take the liberty to entreat that if anything has been laid to my charge I may be informed of it in writing.

I cannot omit another circumstance which renders this necessary; a confidential servant of Congress, the secretary of the Secret Committee for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Payne, has, in a publication in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 15th inst., [December] in order to give the greater force to his illiberal and abusive attack on my character and conduct, whilst the agent and minister of Congress, has assured the public that he is, as he expresses himself, no stranger to my negotiations and contracts in France, and indeed that many things respecting my conduct in France (which in fact never happened), are familiar to him. He then represents himself as being equally familiar with everything which is debated, or which passes in Congress; of the grounds on which the resolutions of Congress are taken, and how the votes stood on the question put, as well as of the cause of other important events; and has ventured to acquaint the public that the motives for the resolution of Congress of the 8th of December, ordering my return, were very different from anything expressed in the resolution itself, or in the letter accompanying it, and really such as are totally contrary, not only to the expressed sense of the resolution and letter, but to everything I have been informed of by the honorable members of Congress then present.

Nothing but the official character of this man, and his taking advantage of it to sport with the secret proceedings of Congress, which (if true) affect my reputation, could have induced me to take notice of this man or his publications.

Congress best know what were the motives for my recall, and what were then or have since been the charges, if any, against me. As their servant I obeyed their orders, and have since waited their pleasure, though in a situation distressing to my personal interest, and more so to my feelings.

I had the misfortune, when, in August last, I was honored with being heard by Congress, to be greatly misunderstood by some of the honorable members then present, who have since expressed themselves in consequence of such misapprehension, as if I had declined or evaded the answering such questions as were or should be put to me by Congress, as I have been assured by an honorable member of Congress that he understood me in that manner. I have since endeavored to recollect, as nearly as possible, what expression of mine at the time gave the ground for this error. I have* consulted my minutes, but find nothing on which such a construction could be made, unless it arose from what I then thought and meant to express, and which, as my present sentiments and request, I beg leave to repeat, that, as insinuations had then and have since been propagated to my disadvantage, I then asked, and still pray, that if there are any charges exhibited against me, I may be made acquainted with them, and that in such case those charges, as well as the questions to be asked me respecting them, may be delivered to me in writing.

On a review of what I have written, I think myself

*Originally thus: "I have *also* consulted *the minutes of those gentlemen who noted in writing what I said, as well as* my *own*, minutes." The several words scored are carefully and artfully scratched with a pen, and almost obliterated; as if Mr. Deane meant, upon second thoughts, arising, probably, upon a second consultation, to conceal that he had "consulted" with "those gentlemen."—*Note by Henry Laurens.*

obliged as a citizen of America, and deeply interested in whatever affects the prosperity and reputation of the States, to say that the Commercial Agency, since the first appointment of Mr. Morris to that department, has not been advantageous to either, and I do not think it will be so hereafter. Capital houses in the trading cities, such as that of Messrs. Delaps at Bordeaux, and Messrs. Montandoin at Nantes, have been greatly disgusted at proposals made to them of dividing a commission with the agent and acting as his deputies; nor will any person accept of such terms but those who have little or no other employ, and consequently are not of the character in the commercial world to give weight and reputation to our commerce.

A consul at L'Orient, which is probably by this time declared a free port, another at Bordeaux, or Bayonne, and one at Dunkirk, appear to me to be necessary, and that such a regulation would give the proper reputation to our commercial affairs, which have hitherto suffered greatly, as well by the agency itself, as from the conduct of the agents; and having taken the liberty to say thus much, I ought to add that in my opinion proper persons for this appointment, and persons well esteemed in the commercial ports of France, are now there, particularly Mr. Williams from Boston, Mr. Johnson from Maryland, and Mr. Nesbitt from this city.

Though I have several times mentioned Dr. Bancroft and his services, I cannot, in justice to these States, to him, and to my own feelings, omit saying that he was early sent for, by order of Congress, from London; that he sacrificed all his prospects there, and, during the whole time of our negotiations in France, devoted himself to the service of his country; that he acquired the esteem and confidence of persons of rank and character in France, as well with the political and commercial, as with the literary characters in that kingdom. It is true that he had the misfortune to disagree with Mr. Arthur Lee, and with

Mr. William Lee, more particularly with the latter, yet I must flatter myself that Congress will not suffer his merit and services to remain longer unnoticed.

M. Beaumarchais often complained to me that, in return for his labors and advances, he was so far unnoticed that he could not obtain a single letter in answer to the many he had written to Congress, and which he was informed had been received by them.

It is of the last importance that persons employed as the agents and ministers of these States in Europe, should be those whose liberal and generous disposition, manners and address, will conciliate the esteem of the people at large, as well as the Court to which they are sent. This, though known and acknowledged by all, I mention here, because these States have suffered already partially, and may hereafter, essentially, from different characters.

From the situation of affairs in Europe when I left it, and from everything I am able to form a judgment of what it will be hereafter, I am fully persuaded that these States can never be benefited (equal to the expense) by supporting ministers at any of the courts in Europe, excepting at the principal ones of the Bourbon, or family compact, at Holland, and at Sweden ; at the latter, on account of naval stores, and at Holland, on account of commerce in general, and of a loan of money, if it should be thought necessary to procure one.

When I left France, a loan was practicable in Holland for these States, as I have before mentioned ; but I ought to say it was then, and has ever since been growing more difficult, yet I do not think it impracticable at present, if rightly applied for, and without further loss of time.

I have now, in obedience to the orders of Congress, given a faithful narrative of my agency of their affairs in Europe, and such information on other subjects as I have thought of importance that Congress should be acquainted with.

I have to apologize for the length of my narration, which has unavoidably exceeded what I expected, and to return my grateful acknowledgments to Congress for the honorable trust they appointed me to execute, and the opportunities given me for serving these States in a distinguished and important line, and for the patient and candid hearing I have now been indulged with. The sphere I have moved in, and the part I have acted, can never be considered as an indifferent one. Not to have merited the approbation of Congress, situated as I have been, necessarily must be to deserve their severest censures. I cheerfully rely on the candor and justice of Congress to examine and judge which I am entitled to; their decision will relieve me, my friends and countrymen, from that state of suspense with regard to my conduct which the public have been for some time held in.

The approbation of my country is the greatest reward and honor I have ever aspired to, and the hope of securing finally its liberty and independence alone animated and supported me under the pressing, the various, and I may say inexplicable difficulties and embarrassments which I labored under from my arrival in France to my leaving it. Without this, and the generous patronage afforded me by my honorable friends in Europe, in France in particular, I must early have failed and sunk under them. Fortunately for me, and much more so for these States, the great objects in view were finally obtained, and the greatest and last wish of my life will be, that the liberty and independence of these States may be perpetual.

Next to the honor of assisting and securing the liberty and independence of my country, I count on the character of having been its honest, faithful, and disinterested servant and citizen; a character which the following letters will show me to have obtained in France, and which I have never forfeited; enjoying this, and while I am conscious of the part I have acted, and that these States are free and independent

(partly in consequence of it), whatever my fate may be, I can never be miserable, on the contrary I shall be essentially happy.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 17.

[The following imperfect continuation of Mr. Deane's narrative is attached to the copy preserved in the Sparks MSS. in the Library of Harvard University.]

Within a day or two of the commissioners being presented at court, which was on the 19th March, 1778, Doctor Franklin informed me of the arrival of an agent from the British Ministry, with proposals, which were to be made secretly to him. Doctor Franklin, after waiting on him, shewed me a copy of them, which he afterwards gave me to bring to America. The fleet from Toulon then ready for sailing, and his Excellency, Mons^{r} Gerard and myself on the point of setting out from Paris, Doctor Franklin waived giving him a positive answer, until we should be well on our journey. On the 7th of April he wrote me, as per letter, of that date, that having engaged that the proposals should not be communicated, as he had positively rejected them, he desired me instantly to destroy them, without either copying them, or communicating them to any one. I complied instantly, on the receipt of his letter, with his request. On my arrival in America, I was informed that the British Commissioners had declared that those propositions had been shewn privately to Doctor Franklin at Paris, and that he approved of them. To contradict this assertion, I have produced Doctor Franklin's letter, and related the circumstances of that transaction in as few words as possible.

Mr. .Cutler arrived a few days since in this town from France, and having received a letter by him from Mr. Williams, I take the liberty to ask that it may be read; also a letter, which was omitted, when I was last before congress. I will also take the liberty to

mention what at the time I passed over, fearing that I should be too tedious.

I mention the first and principal contract having been made for clothing with Mr. Holker, now agent for France in America. This gentleman was then one of the inspectors general of the manufactures of France, and knowing perfectly well the price and quality of cloths in every part of the Kingdom, he undertook, at the request of our mutual friend, Monsieur Chaumont, to put us in the way of being supplied at the cheapest rates; and, by joining himself in the written contract, induced his friends, Messrs. Sabatier, fils and Desprez, to engage, which they did. They purchased the cloth at the manufactories at the first cost, procured it to be made up at the cheapest rate, and the clothes to be transported to Nantes, charging only the prime cost on everything, and two per cent. commissions for their trouble. Mr. Holker, after having engaged these men, whose house

Philadelphia, Dec. 21, 1778.

R[ALPH] I[ZARD] ESQ., TO H[ENRY] L[AURENS] ESQ.

A liberal and just translation of the letters of R. I., Esq., to His Excellency H. L., Esq., done for the benefit of those Americans who are ignorant of the language in which they were written.*

Paris, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I write this to you, and desire you to communicate it to my countrymen in Congress, who, I hope, will exert themselves in my favour. If you and they are satisfied that my former letters have made the impressions that I wish, you will then be so good as to lay this before Congress; if, on the contrary, you think their minds are not properly prepared, you will withhold it, as I do not wish it publicly known

* A burlesque letter in the handwriting of Col. John Laurens.

till it is likely to produce the desired effect. My situation here is very tormenting; I have received two thousand Louis d'ors of the public money, as I informed you in my letter of ——, and have done nothing in my proper department; but my letters will convince you that I have not been idle. Upon my coming to this place I found the commissioners at variance; I wished to be on the side of Franklin and Deane, but the former was too wise to be my dupe, and treated me with reserve; the latter too haughty to be guided by me, and treated me with contempt, which you know was too mortifying for me to bear. I therefore had nothing left but either to cross the Alps, or fall in with a man, who from many years' acquaintance I knew was not accounted the mildest and best-natured in the world. I chose the latter, and how busily I have been engaged, the present, as well as former letters, with the enclosed papers, will sufficiently evince. I do not want to be troublesome to my friends by soliciting their interest in my favour, as it would be much more agreeable they would take a hint, and, without forcing me to a direct application, procure me a post and place most suited to my inclination and ambition; favours unasked confer a higher gratification.

I thought I had spoken plain enough before, and sufficiently explained my wishes when I told you I was willing to act as envoy or minister-plenipotentiary for Italy, in which case it would be necessary to have as many commissions as courts; that so I might travel in state from court to court, and reside where I pleased, without being confined to Florence or Leghorn; at the same time I informed you that it would be still more agreeable to be appointed for Versailles until the British ministry return to their senses, and, by acknowledging our independence, give an opportunity of sending me to the court of London, which has ever been the height of my ambition. I could not entertain a doubt of being gratified in one or other of these points

and that my first excuse for not crossing the Alps, namely, that the Tuscan minister had informed me his master did not wish to see me, though he entertained a good will for America, until France took a decided part in our favour, as by the conduct of France he means to regulate his own; that this excuse, I say, would have served my turn until I should receive your answer. Unfortunately, France has come to a determination, has signed a treaty with us, acknowledged our independence, and sent a fleet to assist, and minister to reside in America; and still I am here without having received a line from you or the Committee for Foreign Affairs, or from Congress, and with only a single commission for the court of Tuscany. For this reason I intimated my pleasure to you that you would oppose the ratification of the treaties, and set matters again afloat, assigning the best reasons I was then able to devise, interspersing with a liberal hand as much personal abuse on Franklin and Deane, who had, in spite of my endeavour, brought this matter to so speedy an issue as I thought was sufficient at least to convince you how much they thwarted my views and how much I hated them, and that, therefore, they ought to be removed with disgrace and infamy; and until I could know the effects of this, I cast about for another reason for my not leaving this place; luckily, the broils in Germany furnished a very ostensible one. I got the Tuscan minister to say that his master wished me not to appear at his court until he knew what part the court of Vienna would take, as by the conduct of that court, with which he is so intimately connected, he must regulate his own. Before that is done, I hope for your answer, and that Congress will gratify me so far as to disgrace Deane and remove Franklin, to make room for me at Versailles, when I assure them that they have acted very foolishly in the appointment of Mr. Deane, who is every way unqualified for the trust reposed in him. It may be said Congress knew him

well before they trusted him, he having been for some considerable time a member of that body; but I say, search the world through, and a more unfit person could not be found; and, as I hope they will allow me to be a better judge of men, manners, and abilities, I say again he is totally unqualified for the post he has filled, and not to be trusted in future. This I hope is sufficient, but if not, I do assert, nay, I can prove that he is a —— New England man; and though he has sent you supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing, fitted out vessels, and without deigning to consult my worthy friend, A. Lee, Esq., nay, I may say, has almost without him brought about the treaty, and has procured the fleet and minister to be sent you without the knowledge of A. Lee, Esq., or myself, yet I affirm, nay, I will swear if you require it, that he has such a hauteur about him that nobody can do business with him. And as to Franklin, he is a crafty old knave; he would not let me have a copy of the treaty after it was signed, though he knew how anxious I was to have it, and how much advantage I could have made of it. In my conscience I believe he has neither honour nor honesty; he has abilities, it is true, but so much the worse when they are not under the restraint of virtue and integrity, and I declare before God, he is under the restraint of neither; and if Congress still doubt it, I can get Doctor ———, so celebrated in the *Quinzaine d'Anglais*, who is as honest an Irishman as ever attended a court with a straw in his shoe, and Mons. ———, my two intimate friends, together with Thornton and twenty such like, to confirm it by their oaths also. But it will be said, perhaps, he has during a long life of upwards of seventy years supported a good character, and that his reputation is established and high through Europe. I deny the fact; did not Wedderburne abuse him? But if it were even so, does not that prove what fools they are in Europe to think well of a man who has treated me with contempt? who refused to consult me on the treaties, or to let me have

a copy of them after they were finished? and when I called upon him to explain his conduct, and wrote to him again, again, and again, and sent my secretary, John Julius Pringle, to catechize him in person, at last sent me word, "Have patience, and I will pay thee all;" but I sent him a Roland for his Oliver. I have shown him that he did not understand the text, and desired him to read over the whole chapter. However, if, after all I have said, Congress cannot be induced to dismiss him wholly, there can be no objection to his being sent to Vienna; he will do well enough there, notwithstanding what I have said of him, but he is not to be trusted at Versailles, which is the place I have fixed on for myself, and you may tell Congress so. I am, Dear Sir, etc., etc.

Materials for History, by Frank Moore. Correspondence of Henry Laurens, page 86.

Thomas Paine's Defence of the Lees.

Common Sense *to the* Public *on* Mr. Deane's *Affair*.

Hoping this to be my last on the subject of Mr. Deane's conduct and address, I shall therefore make a few remarks on what has already appeared in the papers, and furnish you with some interesting and explanatory facts; and whatever I may conceive necessary to say of myself will conclude the piece. As it is my design to make even those that can scarcely read understand, I shall therefore avoid every literary ornament, and put it in language as plain as the alphabet.

I desire the public to understand that this is not a personal dispute between Mr. Deane and me; but is a matter of business in which they are more interested than they seemed at first to be apprised of. I rather wonder that no person was curious enough to ask in the papers how affairs stood between Congress and Mr. Deane as to money matters? And likewise, what

it was that Mr. Deane has so repeatedly applied to Congress for without success? Perhaps those two questions, properly asked, and justly answered, would have unravelled a great part of the mystery, and explained the reason why he threw out, at such a *particular time*, such a strange address. They might likewise have asked, whether there had been any former dispute between Mr. Deane and Arthur or William Lee, and what it was about? Mr. Deane's roundabout charges against the Lees are accompanied with a kind of rancor, that differs exceedingly from public spirited zeal. For my own part I have but a very slender opinion of those patriots, if they can be called such, who never appear till provoked to it by a personal quarrel and then blaze away the hero of their own tale, and in a whirlwind of their own raising: such men are very seldom what the populace mean by the word "staunch," and it is only by a continuance of service that any public can become a judge of a man's principles.

When I first took up this matter, I expected at least to be abused, and I have not been disappointed. It was the last and only refuge they had, and thank God, I had nothing to dread from it. I might have escaped it if I would, either by being silent, or by joining in the tumult. A gentleman, a Member of Congress, an associate, I believe, of Mr. Deane's, and one whom I would wish had not a hand in the piece signed Plain Truth, very politely asked me, a few days before Common Sense to Mr. Deane came out, whether on that subject I was *pro* or *con?* I replied, I know no pro or con, nor any other sides than right and wrong.

Mr. Deane had objected to my putting the signature of Common Sense to my address to him, and the gentleman who came to my lodgings urged the same objections; their reasons for so doing may, I think, be easily guest at. The signature has, I believe, an extensive reputation, and which, I trust, will never be forfeited while in my possession. As I did not chuse

to comply with the proposal that was made to me for changing it, therefore Mr. Plain Truth, as he calls himself, and his connections, have endeavoured to take off from the credit of the signature, by a torrent of low-toned abuse without wit, matter or sentiment.

Had Mr. Deane confined himself to his proper line of conduct, he would never have been interrupted by me or exposed himself to suspicious criticism. But departing from this, he has thrown himself on the ocean of the public, where nothing but the firmest integrity can preserve him from becoming a wreck. A smooth and flattering tale may do for a while, but unless it can be supported with facts, and maintained by the most incontestable proofs, it will fall to the ground and leave the inventor in the lurch.

On the first view of things, there is something in Mr. Deane's conduct which must appear mysterious to every disinterested man, if he will but give himself time to reflect. Mr. Deane has been arrived in America, and in this city, upwards of five months, and had he been possessed of any secrets which affected, or seemed to affect, the interest of America, or known any kind of treachery, misconduct, or neglect of duty in any of the other Commissioners, or in any other person, he ought, as an honest man, to have disclosed it immediately on his arrival, either to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, of which I have the honor to be Secretary, or to Congress. Mr. Deane has done neither, notwithstanding he has had two audiences with Congress in August last, and might at any time have laid his written information before them, or before the Committee, through whom all his foreign concerns had passed, and in whose hands, or rather in mine, are lodged all his political correspondence, and those of other Commissioners.

From an unwillingness to expose Mr. Deane and his adherents too much, I contented myself in my first piece with showing their inconsistency rather than their intentions, and gave them room to retract by

concealing their discredit. It is necessary that I should now speak a plainer language.

The public have totally mistaken this matter, and when they come to understand it rightly, they will see it in a very different light to what they at first supposed it. They seemed to conceive, and great pains have been taken to make them believe, that Mr. Deane had repeatedly applied to Congress to obtain an audience, in order to lay before them some great and important discoveries, and that the Congress had refused to hear such information. It is, Gentlemen, no such thing. If Mr. Deane or any one else has told you so, they have imposed upon you.

If you attend to a part of Mr. Deane's address to you, you will there find, even from his own account, what it was that he wanted an interview with Congress for, viz. : *to get some how or other through his own perplext affairs, and obtain an audience of leave and departure that he might embark for France*, and which if he could have obtained, there is every reason to believe, he would have quitted America in silence, and that the public would never have been *favored* with his address, nor I plagued with the trouble of putting it to rights. The part which I allude to is this, "*and having placed my papers and your's in safety, I left Paris, in full confidence that I should not be* DETAINED IN AMERICA," to which he adds this curious expression, "on the business I was sent for." To be "*detained*" at *home*, is a new transposition of ideas, especially in a man who had been absent from it two years and a half, and serves to shew that Mr. Deane was become so wonderfully foreignized, that he had quite forgotten poor Connecticut.

As I shall have frequent occasions to make use of the name of Congress, I request you to suspend all kind of opinions on any supposed obligations which I am said to lie under to that body, till you hear what I have to say in the conclusion of this address, for if Mr. Deane's accounts stand as clear with them as mine

do, he might very easily have brought his papers from France. I have several times repeated, and I again repeat it, that my whole design in taking this matter up, was, and is to prevent the public being imposed upon, and the event must and will convince them of it.

I now proceed to put the affair into such a straight line that you cannot misunderstand it.

Mr. Deane wrote his address to you some time in November, and kept it by him in order to publish or not as it might suit his purpose.* On the 30th day of the same month he applied by letter to Congress, and what do you think it was for? To give them any important information? No. To "tell them what he has wrote to you?" No, it was to acquaint them *that he had missed agreeable opportunities of returning to*

* This is fully proved by the address itself, which is dated *November*, but without any day of the month, and the same is likewise acknowledged by his blundering friend Mr. Plain Truth; his words are, "Mr. Deane, it is true, wrote his address dated November, previous to his application to Congress of the 30th of November." He certainly could not write it after, there being, unfortunately for him but thirty days in that month; "but," continues Mr. Plain Truth, "he was determined notwithstanding some *forceable reasons*, which the *vigilant* part of the public are at no loss to *guess*, not to publish it if he could be assured of an *early* audience with Congress." Mr. Deane was in a confounded hurry sure that he could not submit to be *detained in America* till the next day, for on that very next day, December 1st, *in consequence of his letter*, the Congress, "Resolved to spend two hours each day, beginning at six in the evening till the state of their foreign affairs should be fully ascertained." This naturally included all and every part of Mr. Deane's affairs, information and every thing else, and it is impossible but he (*connected* as he is with some late and present Members of Congress) should not immediately know it.

I should be glad to be informed what those *forceable reasons* are at which the *vigilant* part of the public guess, and likewise how early Mr. Deane expected an audience, since the resolution of the *next day* appears to have been too late. I am suspicious that it was too soon, and that Mr. Deane and his connections were not prepared for such an *early* examination notwithstanding he had been here upwards of five months, and if the thing is to be "*guessed*" at, at last, and that by the vigilant part of the public, I think I have as great a right to guess as most men, and Mr. Plain Truth, if he pleases may *guess* what I mean; but lest he should mistake I will tell him my guess: it is that the whole affair is a juggle to amuse the people with, in order to prevent the state of foreign affairs being enquired into, and Mr. Deane's accounts and those he is connected with in America settled as they ought to be, and were I to go on *guessing*, I should likewise guess that this is the reason why his accounts are left behind, though I know many people inclined to guess that he has them with him but has forgot them; for my part I don't chuse at *present* to go so far. If any one can give a better guess than I have done I shall give mine up, but as the gentlemen choose to submit it to a guess, I chuse therefore to take them up on their own terms, and put in for the honor of being right. It was, I think, an *injudicious* word for them to use, especially at Christmas time.

France; dismal misfortune indeed! And that the season (of the year) is now become as *pressing* as the *business* which calls him *back*, and therefore he *earnestly intreated the attention of Congress*, to what? To his great information? No; to his important discoveries? No, but to his own *situation and requests*. These are, I believe his own words.

Now it only remains to know whether Mr. Deane's official affairs were in a fit condition for him to be permitted to quit America or not; and I trust, that when I tell you I have been secretary for foreign affairs almost two years, you will allow that I must be some judge of the matter.

You have already heard what Mr. Deane's application to Congress was for. And as one of the public, under the well-known signature of Common Sense, I humbly conceive, that the Congress have done that which as a faithful body of Representatives, they ought to do; that is they ordered an enquiry into the state of foreign affairs and accounts which Mr. Deane had been intrusted with, before they could, with justice to you, grant the request he asked. And this was the more necessary to be done, because Mr. Deane says he has left his papers and accounts behind him. Did ever any steward, when called upon to surrender up his stewardship, make such a weak and frivolous excuse? Mr. Deane saw himself not only *recalled* but *superceded* in his office by another person, and he could have no right to think he should *return*, nor any pretence to come away without the necessary credentials.

His friend and associate, and perhaps partner too, Mr. Plain Truth, says, that I have endeavored in my address to "throw out a suggestion that Mr. Deane is considered [by] Congress as a defaulter of public money." The gentlemen seem to winch before they are touched. I have no where said so, but this I will say, that his accounts are not satisfactory. Mr. Plain Truth endeavors to paliate what he cannot contradict, and with a seeming triumph assures the public, "that

Mr. Deane not long after his arrival laid before Congress a *general* state of the receipts and expenditures of the Monies which passed thro' his hands;" to which Mr. Plain Truth subjoins the following extraordinary apology: "It is true the account was not accompanied with all the vouchers for the particular expenditures." And why not I ask? for without those it was no account at all; it was what the Sailors call a boot account, so much money gone and the Lord knows for what. Mr. Deane has secretaries and clerks, and ought to have known better than to produce such an account to Congress, especially as his colleague Arthur Lee had declared in an office letter which is in my possession that he had no concern in Mr. Deane's contracts.

Neither does the excuse, which his whirlgig friend Mr. Plain Truth makes for him, apply to his case; this random shot gentleman in order to bring him as easily off as possible, says "that any person in the least conversant with business, knows the time which is requisite for calling in manufacturers' and tradesmen's bills, and prepare accounts and vouchers for a final settlement," and this he mentions because Mr. Deane received his order of recall the 4th of March, and left Paris the 31st, here is, however, four weeks within a day.

I shall make three remarks upon this curious excuse.

First, It is contradictory. Mr. Deane could not obtain the total or general expenditure without having the particulars, therefore he must be in possession of particulars. He surely did not pass away money without taking receipts; and what was due upon credit, he could only know from the bills delivered in.

Secondly, Mr. Deane's contracts did not lay in the retail way, and therefore were easily collected.

Thirdly, The accounts which it was Mr. Deane's particular duty to settle, were those he contracted in the time of being only a Commercial Agent in '76, before the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, which separate agency of his expired upwards of fif-

teen months before he left France, and surely that was time enough, and in which period of his agency, there happened an unexplained contract of about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. But more of this when I come to remark on the ridiculous puffs with which Mr. Plain Truth has set off Mr. Deane's pretended services in France.

Mr. Deane has not only left the public papers and accounts behind him, but he has given no information to Congress where or in whose hands they are; he says in his address to you, that he has left them in a safe place, and this is all which is known of the matter. Does this look like business? Has it an open and candid, or a mysterious and suspicious appearance? Or would it have been right in Congress to have granted Mr. Deane an audience of leave and departure in this embarrassed state of his affairs? And because they have not, his ready written November address has been thrown out to abuse them and amuse you by directing you to another object, and myself, for endeavoring to unriddle the confusion, have been loaded with reproach by his partizans and partners, and represented as a writer, who like an unprincipled lawyer had let himself out for pay. Charges which the propagators of them know to be false, because some who have encouraged the report are Members of Congress themselves, and know my situation to be directly the reverse. But this I shall explain in the conclusion: and I give the gentlemen notice of it, that if they can make out any thing against me, or prove that I ever received a single farthing, public or private, for any thing I ever wrote, they may convict me publicly, and if they do not, I hope they will be honest enough to take shame to themselves for the falsehoods they have supported. And I likewise request that they would inform the public what my salary as Secretary for foreign affairs is, otherwise I shall be obliged to do it myself. I shall not spare them and I beg they would not spare me. But to return—

There is something in this concealment of papers that looks like an embezzlement. Mr. Deane came so privately from France, that he even concealed his departure from his colleague Arthur Lee, of which he complains by a letter in my office, and consequently the papers are not in his hands; and had he left them with Doctor Franklin, he would undoubtedly have taken the Doctor's receipt for them, and left nobody to "*guess*" at what Mr. Deane meant by a *safe place*. A man may leave his own private affairs in the hands of a friend, but the papers of a nation are of another nature, and ought never to be trusted with any person whatever out of the direct line of business. This I conceive to be another reason which justifies Congress in not granting Mr. Deane an audience of leave and departure till they are assured where those papers are. Mr. Deane might have been taken at sea, he might have died or been cast away on his passage back to France, or he might have been settled there, as Madam D'Eon did in England, and quarrelled afterwards, as she did, with the power that employed him. Many accidents might have happened by which those papers and accounts might have been totally lost, the secrets got into the hands of the enemy, and the possibility of settling the expenditure of public money forever prevented. No apology can be made for Mr. Deane, as to the danger of the seas, or their being taken by the enemy, in his attempt to bring them over himself, because it ought always to be remembered that he came in a fleet of twelve sail of the line.

I shall now quit this part of the subject to take notice of a paragraph in Mr. Plain Truth.

In my piece to Mr. Deane I said, that his address was dated in November, without any day of the month, that on the last day of that month he applied to Congress, that on the 1st of December the Congress resolved to investigate the state of their foreign affairs, of which Mr. Deane had notice, and that on the fourth he informed them of his receiving that notification and

expressed his thanks, yet that on the fifth he published his extraordinary address.

Mr. Plain Truth in commenting on this arrangement of facts has helped me to a new discovery. He says that Mr. Deane's thanks of the 4th of December were only expressed to the President, Henry Laurens, Esq., for personally informing him of the resolution and other attention to his affairs, and *not*, as I had said, *to Congress for the resolution itself*. I give him credit for this, and believe it to be true; for my opinion of the matter is, that Mr. Deane's views were to get off without any enquiry, and that the resolution referred to was his great disappointment. By all the accounts which have been given both by Mr. Deane's friends and myself, we all agree in this, that Mr. Deane knew of the resolution of Congress before he published his address, and situated as he is could not help knowing it two or three days before his address came out. Why then did he publish it, since the very thing which he ought to have asked for, viz., an enquiry into his affairs, was ordered to be immediately gone into?

I wish in this place to step for a moment from the floor of office, and press it on every State, to enquire what mercantile connections any of their *late* or present Delegates have had or now have with Mr. Deane, and that a precedent might not be wanting, it is important that this State, *Pennsylvania, should begin*.

The uncommon fury which has been spread to support Mr. Deane cannot be altogether for his sake. Those who were the original propagators of it are not remarkable for gratitude. If they excel in any thing it is in the contrary principle and a selfish attachment to their own interest. It would suit their plan exceedingly well to have Mr. Deane appointed Ambassador to Holland, because so situated he would make a very convenient partner in trade, or a useful factor.

In order to rest Mr. Deane on the shoulders of the public, he has been set off with the most pompous

puffs. The Saviour of his Country—the Patriot of America—the True Friend of the Public—the Great Supporter of the Cause in Europe, and a thousand other full blown bubbles, equally ridiculous and equally untrue. Never were the public more wretchedly imposed upon. An attempt was made to call a town meeting to return him thanks, and to march in a body to Congress to demand justice for Mr. Deane. And this brings me to a part in Mr. Plain Truth's address to me, in which he speaks of Mr. Deane's services in France, and defies me to disprove him. If any late or present Member of Congress has been concerned in writing that piece, I think it necessary to tell him that he either knows very little of the state of foreign affairs, or ought to blush in thus attempting to rob a friendly nation, France, of her honors, to bestow them on a man who so little deserves them.

Mr. Deane was sent to France in the Spring '76, as a Commercial Agent, under the authority of the Committee which is now stiled the Committee for foreign affairs. He had no commission of any kind from Congress; and his instructions were to assume no other character than that of a merchant; yet in this line of action Mr. Plain Truth has the ignorance to dub him a "public Minister" and likewise says, "that before the first of December after his arrival, he had formed and cultivated the esteem of a valuable political and commercial connection, not only in France but in other parts of Europe, laid the foundation of a public loan, procured thirty thousand stand of arms, thirty thousand suits of cloaths, more than two hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great amount of tents and military stores, provided vessels to transport them, and in spite of various and almost inconceivable obstructions great part of these articles were shipped and arrived in America before the operations of the Campaign in 1777." To which Mr. Plain Truth adds, "That he has had the means of being acquainted with *all* these circumstances, avows them

to be facts, and *defies* Common Sense or any other person to disprove them."

Poor Mr. Plain Truth, and his avower M. Clarkson have most unfortunately for them challenged the wrong person, and fallen into the right hands when they fell into mine, for without stirring a step from the room I am writing in, or asking a single question of any one, I have it in my power not only to contradict but disprove it.

It is, I confess, a nice point to touch upon, but the necessity of undeceiving the public with respect to Mr. Deane, and the right they have to know the early friendship of the French nation towards them at the time of their greatest wants, will justify my doing it. I feel likewise the less difficulty in it, because the whole affair respecting those supplies has been in the hands of the enemy at least fifteen months, and consequently the necessity for concealing it is superceeded. Besides which, the two nations, viz. France and England, being now come to an open rupture makes the secret unnecessary. It was immediately on the discovery of this affair by the enemy fifteen months ago, that the British Ministry began to change their ground and planned what they called their Conciliatory Bills. They got possession of this secret by stealing the dispatches of October '77 which should have come over by Capt Folger, and this likewise explains the controversy which the British Commissioners carried on with Congress, in attempting to prove that England had planned what they called her Conciliatory Bills, before France moved towards a treaty, for even admitting that assertion to be true, the case is, that they planned those bills in consequence of the knowledge they had stolen.*

* When Capt. Folger arrived at York-Town he delivered a packet which contained nothing but blank paper, that had been put under the cover of the dispatches which were taken out. This fraud was acted by the person to whom they were first intrusted to be brought to America, and who afterwards absconded, having given, by way of deception, the blank packet to Capt. Folger. The Congress were by these means left without any information of European affairs. It happened that a private letter from Dr. Franklin to myself, in which he wrote to

The supplies here alluded to are those which were sent from France in the Amphitrite, Seine, and Mercury, about two years ago. They had at first the appearance of a present, but whether so, or on credit, the service was nevertheless a great and friendly one, and though only part of them arrived, the kindness is the same. A considerable time afterwards, these same supplies appeared under the head of a charge amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and is the unexplained contract I alluded to when I spoke of the pompous puffs made use of to support Mr. Deane. On the appearance of this charge the Congress were exceedingly embarrassed as to what line of conduct to pursue. To be insensible of a favor, which has before now been practised between nations, would have implied a want of just conceptions; and to have refused it would have been a species of proud rusticity. To have asked the question was both difficult and awkward; to take no notice of it would have been insensibility itself; and to have seemed backward in payment, if they were to be paid for, would have impeached both the justice and the credit of America. In this state of difficulties such enquiries were made as were judged necessary, in order that Congress might know how to proceed. Still nothing satisfactory could be obtained. The answer which Mr. Deane signed so lately as February 16th, last past (and who ought to know most of the matter because the *ship-*

me respecting my undertaking the history of the present revolution, and engaged to furnish me with all his materials towards the completion of that work, escaped the pilfering by not being inclosed in the packet with the dispatches. I received this letter at Lancaster through the favor of the President, Henry Laurens, Esq., and as it was the only letter which contained any authentic intelligence of the general state of our affairs in France, I transmitted it again to him to be communicated to Congress. This likewise was the only intelligence which was received from France from May '77, to May 2d '78 when the treaty arrived, wherefore laying aside the point controverted by the British Commissioners as to which moved first, France or England, it is evident that the resolutions of Congress of April 22d, 1778, for totally rejecting the British bills, were grounded entirely on the determination of America to support her cause. A circumstance which gives the highest honor to the resolutions alluded to, and at the same time gives such a character of her fortitude as heightens her value, when considered as an ally, which though it had at that time taken place, was, to her, perfectly unknown.

ping the supplies was while he acted alone), is as ambiguous as the rest of his conduct. I will venture to give it, as there is no political secret in it, and the matter wants explanation.

"Hear that Mr. —— B—— has sent over a person to demand a large sum of you on account of arms, ammunition, &c.—think it will be best for you to leave that matter to be settled here (France), as there is a mixture in it of public and private concern which you cannot so well develop." But why did not Mr. Deane compleat the contract so as it might be developed, or at least state to Congress any difficulties that had arisen? When Mr. Deane had his two audiences with Congress in August last, he objected, or his friends for him, against his answering to questions that might be asked him, and the ground upon which the objection was made, was, because *a man could not legally be compelled to answer questions that might tend to criminate himself*—yet this is the same Mr. Deane whose address you saw in the Pennsylvania Packet of Dec. 5, signed Silas Deane.

Having thus shewn the loose manner of Mr. Deane's doing business in France, which is rendered the more intricate by his leaving his papers behind, or his not producing them; I come now to enquire into what degree of merit or credit Mr. Deane is entitled to, as to the procuring these supplies, either as a present or a purchase.

Mr. Plain Truth has given him the whole. Mr. Plain Truth therefore knows nothing of the matter, or something worse. If Mr. Deane or any other gentleman will procure an order from Congress to inspect an account in my office, or any of Mr. Deane's friends in Congress will take the trouble of coming themselves, I will give him or them my attendance, and show them in a handwriting which Mr. Deane is well acquainted with, that the supplies, he so pompously plumes himself upon, were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before he even arrived in France,

and the part that fell to Mr. Deane was only to see it done, and how he has performed that service, the public are now acquainted with. The last paragraph in the account is, "*Upon Mr. Deane's arrival in France the business went into his hands, and the aids were at length embarked in the Amphitrite, Mercury, and Seine.*"

What will Mr. Deane or his Aid de Camp say to this, or what excuse will they make now? If they have met with any cutting truths from me, they must thank themselves for it. My address to Mr. Deane was not only moderate but civil, and he and his adherents had much better have submitted to it quietly, than provoked more material matter to appear against them. I had at that time all the facts in my hands which I have related since, or shall yet relate in my reply. The only thing I aimed at in that address, was to give out just as much as might prevent the public from being so grossly imposed upon by them, and yet save Mr. Deane and his adherents from appearing too wretched and despicable. My fault was a misplaced tenderness, which they must now be fully sensible of, and the misfortune to them is, that I have not yet done.

Had Mr. Plain Truth only informed the public that Mr. Deane had been industrious in promoting and forwarding the sending the supplies, his assertion would have passed uncontradicted by me, because I must naturally suppose that Mr. Deane would do no otherwise; but to give him the whole and sole honor of *procuring* them, and that without yielding any part of the honor to the public spirit and good disposition of those who furnished them, and who likewise must in every shape have put up with the total loss of them had America been overpowered by her enemies, is, in my opinion, placing the reputation and affection of our allies not only in a disadvantageous, but in an unjust, point of view, and concealing from the public what they ought to know.

Mr. Plain Truth declares that he knows all the circumstances; why then did he not place them in a proper line, and give the public a clear information how they arose? The proposal for sending over those supplies appears to have been originally made by some public spirited gentlemen in France, before ever Mr. Deane arrived there, or was known or heard of in that country, and to have been communicated (personally by Mr. Beaumarchais, the gentleman mentioned in the letter signed J. L., which letter is given at length by Mr. Plain Truth) to Mr. Arthur Lee whilst resident in London, about three years ago. From Mr. B.'s manner of expression, Mr. Lee understood the supplies to be a present, and has signified it in that light. It is very easy to see that if America had miscarried, they *must* have been a present, which probably adds explanation to the matter. But Mr. Deane is spoken of by Mr. Plain Truth, as having an importance of his *own*, and procuring those supplies, through that importance; whereas he could only rise and fall with the country that impowered him to act, and be *in* or *out* of credit, as to money matters, from the same cause and in the same proportion; and every body must suppose, that there were greater and more original wheels at work than he was capable of setting in motion. Exclusive of the matter being began before Mr. Deane's arrival, Mr. Plain Truth has given him the whole merit of every part of the transaction. America and France are wholly left out of the question, the former as to her growing importance and credit, from which all Mr. Deane's consequence was derived, and the latter, as to her generosity in furnishing those supplies at a time when the risk of losing them appears to have been as great as our wants of them.

I have always understood thus much of the matter, that if we did not succeed no payment would be required; and I think myself fully entitled to believe, and to publish my belief, that whether Mr. Deane had arrived in France or not, or any other gentleman in

his stead, those same supplies would have found their way to America. But as the nature of the contract has not been explained by any of Mr. Deane's letters, and is left in obscurity by the account he signed the 16th of February last, which I have already quoted, therefore the full explanation must rest upon other authority. I have been the more explicit on this subject, not so much on Mr. Deane's account, as from a principle of public justice. It shews, in the first instance, that the greatness of the American cause drew, at its first beginning, the attention of Europe, and that the justness of it was such as appeared to merit support; and in the second instance, that those who are now her allies prefaced that alliance by an early and generous friendship; yet that we might not attribute too much to human or auxiliary aid, so unfortunate were those supplies, that only one ship out of the three arrived. The Mercury and the Seine fell into the hands of the enemy.

Mr. Deane, in his address, speaks of himself as "*sacrificed for the aggrandizement of others*," and promises to inform the public of "*what he has done and what he has suffered.*" What Mr. Deane means by being sacrificed the Lord knows, and what he has *suffered* is equally as mysterious. It was his good fortune to be situated in an elegant country and at a public charge, while we were driven about from pillar to post. He appears to know but little of the hardships and losses which his countrymen underwent in the period of his fortunate absence. It fell not to his lot to turn out to a Winter's campaign, and sleep without tent or blanket. He returned to America when the danger was over, and has since that time suffered no personal hardship. What, then, are Mr. Deane's sufferings, and what the *sacrifices* he complains of? Has he lost money in the public service? I believe not. Has he got any? That I cannot tell. I can assure him that I have not, and he, if he pleases, may make the same declaration.

Surely the Congress might recall Mr. Deane, if they thought proper, without an insinuated charge of injustice for so doing. The authority of America must be little indeed when she cannot change a Commissioner without being insulted by him; and I conceive Mr. Deane as speaking in the most disrespectful language of the Authority of America when he says in his address, that in December, 1776, he was "honored with one Colleague, and *saddled* with another." Was Mr. Deane to dictate who should be Commissioner, and who should not? It was time, however, to saddle him, as he calls it, with somebody, as I shall shew before I conclude.

When we have elected our Representatives, either in Congress or the Assembly, it is for our own good that we support them in the execution of that authority they derive from us. If Congress is to be abused by every one whom they may appoint or remove, there is an end to all useful delegation of power, and the public accounts in the hands of individuals will never be settled. There has, I believe, been too much of this work practised already, and it is time that the public should now make those matters a point of consideration. But who will begin the disagreeable task?

I look on the independence of America to be as firmly established as that of any country which is at war. Length of time is no guarantee when arms are to decide the fate of a nation. Hitherto our whole anxiety has been absorbed in the means for supporting our independence, and we have paid but little attention to the expenditure of money, yet we see it daily depreciating; and how should it be otherwise when so few public accounts are settled, and new emissions continually going on? I will venture to mention one circumstance which I hope will be sufficient to awaken the attention of the public to this subject. In October, 1777, some books of the Commercial Committee, in which, among other things, were kept the accounts of Mr. Thomas Morris, ap-

pointed a Commercial Agent in France, were by Mr. Robert Morris's request, taken into his possession to be settled; he having obtained from the Council of this state six months leave of absence from Congress to settle his affairs. In February following, those books were called for by Congress, but not being compleated, were not delivered. In September, 1778, Mr. Morris returned them to Congress in, or nearly in, the same unsettled state he took them, which, with the death of Mr. Thomas Morris, may probably involve those accounts in further embarrassment. The amount of expenditure on those books is considerably above two millions of dollars.*

I now quit this subject to take notice of a paragraph in Mr. Plain Truth, relative to myself. It never fell to my lot to have to do with a more illiberal set of men than those of Mr. Deane's advocates who were concerned in writing that piece. They have neither wit, manners, nor honesty; an instance of which I shall now produce. In speaking of Mr. Deane's contracts with individuals in France, I said in my address, "We are all fully sensible that the gentlemen which have come from France since the arrival of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee in that country are of a different rank from *the generality of those* with whom Mr. Deane contracted when alone." These are the exact words I used in my address.

Mr. Plain Truth has misquoted the above paragraph

* There is an article in the Constitution of this state which, were it at this time introduced as a Continental regulation, might be of infinite service. I mean a Council of Censors to inspect into the expenditure of public money and call defaulters to an account. It is, in my opinion, one of the best things in the Constitution, and that which the people ought never to give up; and whenever they do, they will deserve to be cheated. It has not the most favorable look that those who are hoping to succeed to the government of this state, by a change in the Constitution, are so anxious to get that article abolished. Let expences be ever so great, only let them be fair and necessary, and no good citizen will grumble.

Perhaps it may be said, Why do not the Congress do those things? To which I might, by another question, reply, Why don't you support them when they attempt it? It is not quite so easy a matter to accomplish that point in Congress as perhaps many conceive; men will always find friends and connections among the body that appoints them, which will render all such enquiries difficult.

into his piece, and that in a manner which shows him to be a man of little reading and less principle. The method in which he has quoted it is as follows : "All are fully sensible that the gentlemen who came from France since the arrival of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee in that country are of a different rank with those with whom Mr. Deane contracted when acting separately." Thus by leaving out the words, "*the generality of*," Mr. Plain Truth has altered the sense of my expression, so as to suit a most malicious purpose in his own, which could be no other than that of embroiling me with the French gentlemen that have remained, whereas it is evident that my mode of expression was intended to do justice to such characters as Fleury and Touzard, by making a distinction they are clearly entitled to. Mr. Plain Truth not content with thus unjustly subjecting me to the misconception of those gentlemen, with whom even explanation was difficult on account of the language, but in addition to his injustice, endeavoured to provoke them to it by calling on them, and reminding them that they were the "*Guardians of their own honor ;*" and I have reason to believe that either Mr. Plain Truth or some of the party did not even stop here, but went so far as personally to excite them on. Mr. Fleury came to my lodgings and complained that I had done him great injustice, but that he was sure I did not intend it, because he was certain that I knew him better. He confessed to me that he was pointed at, and told that I meant him, and he withal desired that as I knew his services and character, that I would put the matter right in the next paper. I endeavoured to explain to him that the mistake was not mine, and we parted. I do not remember that in the course of my reading I ever met with a more illiberal and malicious misquotation, and the more so when all the circumstances are taken with it. Yet this same Mr. Plain Truth, whom nobody knows, has the impertinence to give himself out as a man of "*education*" and to inform the public

that "he is not a writer from *inclination*, much less by *profession*;" to which he might have added *still less by capacity, and least of all by principle.* As Mr. Clarkson has undertaken to avow the piece signed Plain Truth, I shall therefore consider him as legally accountable for the apparent malicious intentions of this misquotation, and he may get whom he pleases to speak or write a defence for him.

I conceive that the *general* distinction I referred to between those with whom Mr. Deane contracted when alone, and those who have come from France since the arrival of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee in that country, is sufficiently warranted. That gallant and amiable officer and volunteer the Marquis de la Fayette, and some others whom Mr. Plain Truth mentions, did not come from France till after the arrival of the additional commissioners, and proves my assertion to be true. My remark is confined to the many and unnecessary ones with which Mr. Deane burthened and distracted the army. If he acquired any part of his popularity in France by this means he made the continent pay smartly for it. Many thousand pounds it cost America, and that in money totally sunk, on account of Mr. Deane's injudicious contracts, and what renders it the more unpardonable is, that by the instructions he took with him, he was *restricted* from making them, and consequently by having no authority had an easy answer to give to solicitations. It was Doctor Franklin's answer as soon as he arrived and might have been Mr. Deane's. Gentlemen of Science and literature or conversant with the polite or useful Arts, will, I presume, always find a welcome reception in America, at least with persons of a liberal cast, and with the bulk of the people.

In speaking of Mr. Deane's contracts with foreign officers, I concealed, out of pity to him, a circumstance that must have sufficiently shewn the necessity of recalling him, and either his great want of judgment, or the danger of trusting him with discretionary power.

It is no less than that of his throwing out a proposal, in one of his last foreign letters, for contracting with a German Prince to command the American army. For my own part, I was no ways surprised when I read it, though I presume almost every body else will be so when they hear it, and I think when he got to this length, it was time to "*saddle*" him.

Mr. Deane was directed by the Committee which employed him to engage four able engineers in France, and beyond this he had neither authority nor commission. But disregarding his instructions (a fault criminal in a negociator), he proceeded through the several degrees of subalterns, to Captains, Majors, Lieutenant Colonels, Colonels, Brigadier Generals, and at last to Major Generals; he fixt their rank, regulated their command, and on some, I believe, he bestowed a pension. At this stage, I set him down for a Commander in Chief, and his next letter proved me prophetic.

Mr. Plain Truth, in the course of his numerous encomiums on Mr. Deane, says that "The letter of the Count de Vergennes, written by order of his Most Christian Majesty to Congress, speaking of Mr. Deane in the most honorable manner, and the letter from that Minister in his own character, written not in the language of a courtier, but in that of a person who felt what he expressed, would be sufficient to counterbalance not only the opinions of the writer of the address to Mr. Deane, but even of characters of more influence, who may vainly endeavor to circulate notions of his insignificancy and unfitness for a public minister."

The supreme authority of one country, however different may be its mode, will ever pay a just regard to that of another, more especially when in alliance. But those letters can extend no further than to such parts of Mr. Deane's conduct as came under the immediate notice of the Court as a public Minister, or a political agent, and cannot be supposed to interfere with such other parts as might be disapproved in him here as a Contractor or a Commercial Agent, and can

in no place be applied as an extenuation of any imprudence of his, either there or since his return; besides which, letters of this kind are as much intended to compliment the power that employs as the person employed; and upon the whole, I fear Mr. Deane has presumed too much upon the polite friendship of that nation, and engrossed to himself a regard that was partly intended to express, through him, an affection to the continent.

Mr. Deane should likewise recollect that the early appearance of any gentleman from America was a circumstance so agreeable to the nation he had the honor of appearing at, that he must have managed unwisely indeed to have avoided popularity. For, as the poet says,

"*Fame then was cheap, and the first comers sped.*"

The last line of the couplet is not applicable,

"*Which they have since preserv'd by being dead.*"

From the pathetic manner in which Mr. Deane speaks of his "*sufferings*," and the little concern he seems to have of ours, it may not be improper to inform him that there is kept in this city a *Book of Sufferings*, into which, by the assistance of some of his connections, he may probably get them registered. I have not interest enough myself to afford him any service in this particular, though I am a friend to all religions, and no personal enemy to those who may, in this place, suppose themselves alluded to.

I can likewise explain to Mr. Deane the reason of one of his sufferings, which I know he has complained of. After the Declaration of Independence was passed, Mr. Deane thought it a great hardship that he was not authorized to announce it in form to the Court of France, and this circumstance has been mentioned as a seeming inattention in Congress. The reason of it was this, and I mention it of my own

knowledge. Mr. Deane was at that time only a Commercial Agent, without any commission from Congress, and consequently could not appear at court with the rank suitable to the formality of such an occasion. A new commission was therefore necessary to be issued by Congress, and that honor was purposely reserved for Doctor Franklin, whose long services in the world, and established reputation in Europe, rendered him the fittest person in America to execute such a great and original design; and it was likewise paying a just attention to the honor of France by sending so able and extraordinary a character to announce the declaration.

Mr. Plain Truth, who sticks at nothing to carry Mr. Deane through every thing, thick and thin, says, "It may not be improper to remark that when he (Mr. Deane) arrived in France, the opinion of people there, and in the different parts of Europe, not only with respect to the merits, but the probable issue of the contest, had by no means acquired that consistency which they had at the time of Doctor Franklin's and Mr. Arthur Lee's arrival in that kingdom." Mr. Plain Truth is but a bad historian. For it was the fate of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee to arrive in France in the very worst of times. Their first appearance there was followed by a long series of ill fortune on our side. Doctor Franklin went from America in October, 1776, at which time our affairs were taking a wrong turn. The loss on Long-Island and the evacuation of New-York happened before he went, and all the succeeding retreats and misfortunes, through the course of that year, till the scale was again turned, by taking the Hessians at Trenton on the 26th day of December, followed day by day after him. And I have been informed by a gentleman from France that the philosophical ease and chearful fortitude with which Doctor Franklin heard of, or announced, those tidings contributed greatly towards lessening the real weight of them on the minds of the Europeans.

Mr. Deane, speaking of himself in his address, says, "*While it* was safe to be silent my lips were closed. Necessity hath opened them, and necessity must excuse this effort to serve by informing you." After which he goes on with his address. In this paragraph there is an insinuation thrown out by Mr. Deane that some treason was on foot, which he had happily discovered, and which his duty to his country compelled him to reveal. The public had a right to be alarmed, and the alarm was carefully kept up by those who at first contrived it. Now, if after this, Mr. Deane has nothing to inform them of, he must sink into nothing. When a public man stakes his reputation in this manner, he likewise stakes all his future credit on the performance of his obligation.

I am not writing to defend Mr. Arthur or Mr. William Lee, I leave their conduct to defend itself; and I would with as much freedom make an attack on either of these gentlemen, if there was a public necessity for it, as on Mr. Deane. In my address I mentioned Colonel R. H. Lee with some testimony of honorable respect because I am personally acquainted with that gentleman's integrity and abilities as a public man, and in the circle of my acquaintance I know but few that have equalled, and none that have exceeded him, particularly in his ardor to bring foreign affairs, and more especially the present happy alliance, to an issue.

I have heard it mentioned of this gentleman, that he was among those, whose impatience for victory led them into some kind of discontent at the operations of last Winter. The event has, I think, fully proved those gentlemen wrong, and must convince them of it; but I can see no reason why a misgrounded opinion, produced by an overheated anxiety for success, should be mixed up with other matters it has no concern with. A man's political abilities may be exceedingly good, though at the same time he may differ, and even be wrong, in his notions of some military particulars.

Mr. Deane says that Mr. Arthur Lee "was dragged

into the treaty with the utmost reluctance," a charge which if he cannot support, he must expect to answer for. I am acquainted that Mr. Lee had some objection against the constructions of a particular article, which, I think, shews his judgment, and whenever they can be known will do him honor; but his general opinion of that valuable transaction I shall give in his own words from a letter in my hands.

"France has done us substantial benefits, Great-Britain substantial injuries. France offers to guarantee our sovereignty, and universal freedom of commerce. Great-Britain *condescends* to *accept* our *submission* and to *monopolize* our commerce. France demands of us to be independent, Great-Britain tributary. I do not conceive how there can be a mind so debased, or an understanding so perverted, as to balance between them."

"The journies I have made north and south in the public service have given me opportunities of knowing the general disposition of Europe on our question. There never was one in which the harmony of opinion was so universal. From the Prince to the peasant there is but one voice, one wish, the liberty of America, and the humiliation of Great-Britain."

If Mr. Deane was as industrious to spread reports to the injury of these gentlemen in Europe, as he has been in America, no wonder if their real characters has been misunderstood. The peculiar talent which Mr. Deane possesses of attacking persons behind their backs has so near a resemblance to the author of Plain Truth, who after promising his name to the public has declined to give it, and to some other proceedings I am not unacquainted with, *particularly an attempt to prevent my publication*, that it looks as if one spirit of private malevolence governed the whole.

Mr. Plain Truth has renewed the story of Doctor Berkenhout, to which I have but one reply to make:— Why did not Mr. Deane appear against him while he was here? He was the only person who knew any-

thing of him, and his neglecting to give information, and thereby suffering a suspicious person to escape for want of proof, is a story very much against Mr. Deane; and his complaining after the man was gone corresponds with the rest of his conduct.

When little circumstances are so eagerly dwelt upon, it is a sign, not only of the want of great ones, but of weakness and ill will. The crime against Mr. William Lee is, that some years ago he was elected an Alderman of one of the wards in London, and the English Calender has yet printed him with the same title. Is that any fault of his? Or can he be made accountable for what the people of London may do? Let us distinguish between whiggishness and waspishness, between patriotism and peevishness, otherwise we shall become the laughing stock of every sensible and candid mind. Suppose the Londoners should take it in their heads to elect the President of Congress or General Washington an Alderman, is that a reason why we should displace them? But Mr. Lee, say they, has not resigned. These men have no judgment or they would not advance such positions. Mr. Lee has nothing to resign. He has vacated his Aldermanship by accepting an appointment under Congress, and can know nothing further of the matter. Were he to make a formal resignation it would imply his being a subject of Great-Britain; besides which, the character of being an Ambassador from the States of America is so superior to that of any Alderman of London, that I conceive Mr. Deane, or Mr. Plain Truth, or any other person as doing a great injustice to the dignity of America by attempting to put the two in any disputable competition. Let us be honest lest we be despised, and generous lest we be laughed at.

Mr. Deane in his address of the 5th of December, says, "having thus introduced you to your great servants, I now proceed to make you acquainted with some other personages, which it may be of consequence for you to know. I am *sorry* to say that

Arthur Lee, Esq., was *suspected* by some of the best friends you had abroad, and those in important characters and stations." To which I reply, that I firmly believe Mr. Deane will likewise be *sorry* he has said it. Mr. Deane after thus advancing a charge endeavours to paliate it by saying, "these suspicions, *whether well* or *ill* founded, were frequently urged to Doctor Franklin and myself." But Mr. Deane ought to have been certain that they *were well founded*, before he made such a publication, for if they are *not* well founded, he must appear with great discredit, and it is now his duty to accuse Mr. Arthur Lee legally, and support the accusation with sufficient proofs. Characters are tender and valuable things; they are more than life to a man of sensibility, and are not to be made the sport of interest, or the sacrifice of incendiary malice. Mr. Lee is an absent gentleman, and I believe too, an honest one, and my motive for publishing this, is not to gratify any party, or any person, but as an act of social duty which one man owes to another, and which, I hope, will be done to me whenever I shall be accused ungenerously behind my back.

Mr. Lee to my knowledge has far excelled Mr. Deane in the usefulness of his information, respecting the political and military designs of the Court of London. While in London he conveyed intelligence that was dangerous to his personal safety. Many will remember the instance of a rifle man who had been carried prisoner to England above three years ago, and who afterwards returned from thence to America, and brought with him a letter concealed in a button. That letter was from this gentleman, and the public will, I believe, conclude that the hazard Mr. Lee exposed himself to, in giving information while so situated, and by such means, deserves their regard and thanks. The detail of the number of the foreign and British troops for the campaign of 1776 came first from him, as did likewise the expedition against South Carolina and Canada; and among other accounts of his, that the

English emissaries at Paris had boasted that the British Ministry had sent over half a million of guineas to corrupt the Congress. This money, should they be fools enough to send it, will be very ineffectually attempted or bestowed, for repeated instances have shewn that the moment any man steps aside from the public interest of America, he becomes despised, and if in office superceeded.

Mr. Deane says, "That Dr. Berkenhout, when he returned to New-York, ventured to assure the British Commissioners, that by the alliance with France, America was at liberty to make peace without consulting her ally, unless England declared war." What is it to us what Dr. Berkenhout said, or how came Mr. Deane to know what passed between him and the British Commissioners? But I ask Mr. Deane's pardon, he has told us how. "Providence (says he), in whom we put our trust, *unfolded* it to me." But Mr. Deane says, that Col. R. H. Lee pertinaciously maintained the same doctrine. The treaty of alliance will neither admit of debate nor any equivocal explanation. Had *war not broke out, or had not Great-Britain, in resentment to that alliance or connection, and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty, broke the peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting at that time, between the two crowns.* In this case, I likewise say, that America, as a *matter of right*, could have made a peace without consulting her ally, though the civil obligations of mutual esteem and friendship would have required such a consultation. But war *has* broke out, though not declared, for the first article in the treaty of alliance is confined to the *breaking out of war*, and *not* to its *declaration.* Hostilities have been commenced, therefore the first case is superceeded, and the eighth article of the treaty of alliance has its full intentional force.

Article 8. "Neither of the two parties shall con-

clude either truce or peace without the formal consent of the other first obtained, and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured, by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war."

What Mr. Deane means by this affected appearance of his both personally and in print, I am quite at a loss to understand. He seems to conduct himself here in a stile that would more properly become the Secretary to a foreign embassy than that of an American Minister returned from his charge. He appears to be every body's servant but ours, and for that reason can never be the proper person to execute any commissions, or possess our confidence. Among the number of his "*sufferings*" I am told that he returned burthened with forty changes of silk, velvet, and other dresses. Perhaps this was the reason he could not bring his papers.

Mr. Deane says that William Lee, Esq., gives five per cent. commission, and receives a share of it, for what was formerly done for two per cent. That matter requires to be cleared up and explained, for it is not the quantity per cent., but the purposes to which it is applied, that makes it right or wrong; besides which, the whole matter, like many other of Mr. Deane's charges, may be groundless.

I here take my leave of this gentleman, wishing him more discretion, candor, and generosity.

In the beginning of this address, I informed the public, that "whatever I should conceive necessary to say of myself would appear in the conclusion." I chose that mode of arrangement, lest by explaining my own situation first, the public might be induced to pay a greater regard to what I had to say against Mr. Deane than was necessary they should; whereas it was my wish to give Mr. Deane every advantage, by letting what I had to advance come from me, while I laid under the disadvantage of having the motives of my

conduct mistaken by the public. Mr. Deane and his adherents have apparently deserted the field they first took possession of and seemed to triumph in. They made their appeal to you, yet have suffered me to accuse and expose them for almost three weeks past, without a denial or a reply.

I do not blame the public for censuring me while they, though wrongfully, supposed I deserved it. When they see their mistake, I have no doubt, but they will honor me with that regard of theirs which I before enjoyed. And considering how much I have been misrepresented, I hope it will not now appear ostentatious in me, if I set forth what has been my conduct, ever since the first publication of the pamphlet Common Sense down to this day, on which, and on account of my reply to Mr. Deane, and in order to support the liberty of the press, and my right as a freeman, I have been obliged to resign my office of Secretary for foreign affairs, which I held under Congress. But this in order to be compleat, will be published in the Crisis No. 8 of which notice will be given in the papers.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 8th, 1779.

N. B. The 12th article in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce is the article I alluded to in my last, and against which Arthur Lee, Esq., had some objections.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 31, 1778, *Jan.* 2, 5, 7, 9, 1779.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD HENRY LEE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

SIR,—I have read in the Pennsylvania Advertiser, of Dec. 5th, a long libel signed SILAS DEANE; but I have read it with that composure which ever attends a good conscience, and that satisfaction which arises from an additional proof that I have well done my

duty as a servant of the public. Had the latter not been the case, had I winked at all information of public abuse, I do not think that I should have incurred Mr. Deane's censure ; but whilst I am honoured with public trust, it shall be my constant endeavour to prevent the community from being injured, and certainly to insist that all those who have fingered large sums of the public money should be called upon for fair and honest settlement. From the first origin of Congress, to the present day, I have constantly been a member of that body ; and I can safely appeal to every gentleman with whom I have served there, and to all who know me in private life, whether I have yielded to any of my colleagues in zeal for the American cause, and industry to promote its success ; whether, through the varying stages of prosperity and adversity, my sentiments and conduct have not been uniformly warm and active to secure the freedom, happiness, and independence of my country. That the alliance with France has been my constant wish and hope, no man, who knows me, will deny ; and all the gentlemen of that country, with whom I have had business, can bear me witness of my attention and regard to their affairs. With such unvarying conduct and sentiments, when I had not a pulse but beat to independence, and with a mind filled with reverence and gratitude for France in consequence of her wisdom and goodness in allying with us, it seems hard to be attacked by an inuendo man for sinister designs in favour of a detested enemy against a good and able friend. To all with whom I have the honour of being acquainted, this suggestion will be considered as fabulous as if it had supposed a miser to be in league with another to deprive himself of his beloved gold. But the case of Dr. Berkenhout is the foundation whereon this calumny rests. A worse foundation was never given to an abominable superstructure. It has already been related, in a former paper, how I came to know that such a man was in America. The truth is, that I was a total

stranger to him; and when I received a letter from General Maxwell informing me that such a person had been with him, it was some minutes before I could recollect the name, having only heard Dr. Lee say, ten years ago, that a person of that name was the author of a good pharmacopeia, with whom he was acquainted, and that he was a man of parts. I immediately read the letter to Congress, and informed them what I knew of Dr. Berkenhout. Soon after this he arrived in town, and sent me a ticket to know when he should wait on me. Being at dinner, when we arose from table I asked an honourable member of Congress (Col. Scudder of New-Jersey) to walk with me to see Dr. Berkenhout. We went, and after some general conversation he asked me if I had received any letter from Dr. Lee concerning him. I answered no. He appeared concerned, and imputed it to his having left England too soon after requesting such introductory letter. This is a strong circumstance against the supposition that he brought letters for me, for if he had, why not then produce them? He brought neither letter or letters for me, nor carried any from me to others, though both are insinuated. The next day, I think, he came to my lodgings and informed me that his intention in coming to America was to provide a settlement for his family in a land of liberty, and to find a place where he could practise physick to advantage, on which subjects he asked my advice. I gave him the best in my power; and I promised to introduce him to the delegates of Massachusetts, that he might be informed whether Boston afforded a good opening for a physician. I did so, as those gentlemen know, and finished the afternoon by walking round a square or two of the town, and parted. After this, I never saw Dr. Berkenhout but a few minutes in company with other gentlemen in a public room of the house where I lodged. I do declare upon the honour of a gentleman, and the faith of a Christian, that I had not the most distant cause to suppose that he had other

views in coming to America than those already mentioned, which he related to me as the true ones. In all his conversation, which was sensible, he discovered strong attachments to America; and to confirm this opinion, he gave me a pamphlet, as written by himself and published in England in 1777, which strongly contended for the independence of North America. From once reading this pamphlet, I thought it well written. In this situation of things, it may easily be imagined that I was surprised at a publication in the Advertiser stating Dr. Berkenhout and Mr. Temple as ministerial agents from a newspaper publication in England. This I understood procured the arrest of the former. How long he remained in prison, when and how he was discharged, I am an utter stranger to. But when I was first told of his discharge, I was told at the same time that he had been gone to New-York several days. It is certain that his conversation had strongly impressed my mind with an opinion of his attachment to our cause, and as a friendless stranger, it is not to be wondered that I expressed favourable sentiments of him when he was mentioned in conversation. If I think a man innocent, and believe him to be a friend of America, it appears to me both unjust and ungenerous not to say so when I see him oppressed. Give me satisfactory proof that any man willingly injures and is an enemy to the independency and interest of my country, be he who he will, I am from that moment his enemy. It is said by Mr. Deane that Dr. Berkenhout was sent back with the knowledge he had been able to collect. I am at a loss to discover what collections injurious to us he could have made in jail, for I believe he was but a few days at large, and in a city where I believe he was but little known. It seems however that Dr. Berkenhout has said, that by the alliance with France America was at liberty to make peace *without consulting* her ally, unless England *declared war;* and it is confidently asserted, that I have constantly and pertinaciously main-

tained the same doctrine. Inuendo, that Dr. Berkenhout got this information from me. I absolutely deny having ever conversed with him on any such subject, and I do as positively deny having ever maintained that America had a right by the alliance to make peace *without consulting* her ally, if England did not *declare war*. I know that war may be made without declaring it, and I have both within and without doors said, that if England would acknowledge the independence of America, and not resent the part that France had taken, America was at liberty to make a similar treaty with England, or any other nation. And I should be glad to know if the ministers of France have not made the same declaration at the courts of London and the Hague. Was not the fact so? But there is no end to disingenuous and malevolent misinterpretation, nor to the dark art of inuendo and evil suggestion. But calumnies, or assertions unsupported by evidence, should affect only the character of him that utters them. I am to ask pardon of the public, and of you, Mr. Purdie, for having said so much on so frivolous an occasion; but I have such deep respect for the public opinion, and such desire not to be misunderstood or disesteemed by one worthy man in the United States, that I shall not regret my trouble if I prevent a single honest friend to America from being imposed on. For the curious charges brought by Mr. Deane against Mr. William Lee and Dr. Lee, he will be called to answer at another time and in another place. For the present I can say, that from a very intimate acquaintance with those gentlemen, and from their uniform public conduct, so far as the same has come to my knowledge, I know them to be devoted to the cause of America; that they have made great sacrifices to this cause, and that their hopes rest alone upon its success; that their present political appointments did not arise from the solicitations of themselves or their relations. Mr. Deane talks much about his great services and good conduct; but how happens it, that, of

four commissioners besides himself, three are so clear and so strong in reprobating that conduct? Nor are these the only men that have done so, as I shall make appear hereafter. I cannot help concluding this hasty narrative with cautioning my countrymen to be upon their guard against the malignant artifice of our enemies, who are every where, and in every manner, endeavoring to excite doubts concerning the firm, invariable friends to our glorious cause, and to throw the public councils of America into confusion and contempt. But this I trust will be as effectually baffled by the virtue of America, as their other arts, whether of force or fraud.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Virginia Gazette, Jan. 1, 1779, *reprinted in the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan.* 19, 1779.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 4th January, 1779.

SIR,—In my letter of the 30th ult. I took the liberty of mentioning to Congress a circumstance, which made me very solicitous for a final issue of my affairs, which was the illiberal and abusive attacks made on my character, as the public agent and minister of these States, by a certain Mr. Thomas Paine, styling himself Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and pretending to address the public in his official capacity. This person has since, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 2nd inst., ventured to assure the public that the supplies which I contracted for with Mons. Beaumarchais were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before I arrived in France, and that he has in his possession full proof of this.

I cannot suppose that Mr. Paine is possessed of any letters or papers on this subject, which are not before Congress, or to which the honorable members are strangers. I will not trouble Congress with any observations on the many groundless and extravagant

assertions of this writer, but justice to my own character obliges me to entreat that, if what he has asserted on this subject is a fact, I may be acquainted with it. Mons. Beaumarchais, in his letter to Congress of the 23d of March last, asserts directly the contrary to what this man has ventured to publish; and as my engagements with Mons. Beaumarchais were made on a very different ground, it is of the last importance to me to know if I have been deceived in the whole of this transaction, and how, that I may be able to regulate my conduct accordingly.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 178.

REPLY TO MATTHEW CLARKSON.

MR. DUNLAP,—The pains which have been taken by the author of a piece in your last paper, signed M. Clarkson, to vilify and lessen the character of the author of Common Sense, appears to be designed to intimidate him, and to draw the public attention from the question before them.

Mr. Payne has a right to protection from the public, independent of the favour of Mr. Plain Truth, Mr. Clarkson, or any of the aiders and abettors of either of them; and whatever these men may think, I am fully satisfied the public will defend him against any attack which shall be made on him in consequence of his publications, while they tend to the information of the people, on any subject in which they are interested.

Previous to the publication of the piece signed Plain Truth, *the author* declared *his name* should be left with the Printer. Has this been done? This is a very plain question. M. Clarkson has twice *avowed* the piece; but is he *the author?* He has not yet said he is, and the public in general believe he is not. If

he is *the author*, why not say so? If he is *not*, he has stepped in between the author and the public, by which means the author remains *unseen*, as Mr. Payne has said. Whether the author of the piece signed Plain Truth, is justly stiled by Mr. Payne an *unseen incendiary*, or not, the people will judge for themselves. It will probably come before a jury. Let any man of candour examine the latter part of the fourth paragraph, wherein there is a quotation from Common Sense, and then say whether or not there is an evident design to inflame the resentment of the French officers there mentioned against Mr. Payne. If this appears to be the design, is it, or is it not, an *incendiary design?*

How does Mr. Plain Truth account for his pretending to give quotations from Common Sense, in the paragraphs mentioned, and suppressing parts of the sentence he pretends to give? The words, "the *generality of these*," which he has suppressed, gives the sentiment a very different complexion from what it wears, as quoted by Mr. Plain Truth. Is this candid? Is it honest?

T. GRACCHUS.

Jan. 2d, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 5, 1779.

CONRAD A. GERARD TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Translation.

Philadelphia, Jan. 5th, 1779.

SIR,—The Minister Plenipotentiary of France cannot forbear to submit to the Congress of the United States the passages underscored in the two gazettes annexed, under date of the 2d and 5th of this month.

He has no doubt of the indignation of Congress at the indiscreet assertions contained in these passages, which equally bring into question the dignity and

reputation of the King, my master, and that of the United States. These assertions will become, in the hands of the enemies of the common cause, a weapon the more powerful and dangerous as the author is an officer of Congress, and as he takes advantage of his situation to give credit to his opinions and to his affirmations.

The aforesaid Minister relies entirely on the wisdom of Congress to take measures suitable to the circumstance. It has not been owing to him that the author has not himself repaired the injury which he has done, the Minister Plenipotentiary having hastened to convince him of the wrongs of which he was guilty, when the first of these gazettes appeared in public.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GERARD.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., X. 260.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS UPON THE MEMORIAL OF MINISTER GERARD RESPECTING THE PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS PAINE.

Tuesday, January 5, 1779. A memorial from the Minister of France was read, respecting sundry passages in two newspapers annexed of the 2d and 5th instant.

Ordered, That the consideration thereof be postponed till to-morrow.

Wednesday, January 6. A letter of this day from Thomas Paine was read;* whereupon

The order of the day on the memorial of the Minister of France was called for, and the said memorial being read,

Ordered, That Mr. John Dunlap, printer, and Mr. Thomas Paine, attend immediately at the bar of this house.

* See Conway's Life of Paine, I. 128.

Mr. John Dunlap attending, was called in, and the newspapers of the 2d and 5th of January instant, intitled "Pennsylvania packet, or general advertiser," being shewn to him, he was asked whether he was the publisher; to which he answered, yes. He was then asked who is the author of the pieces in the said papers, under the title "Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affairs;" to which he answered, Mr. Thomas Paine; he was then ordered to withdraw.

Mr. Thomas Paine attending, was called in, and being asked if he was the author of the pieces in the Pennsylvania packet or general advertiser of January 2d and 5th, 1779, under the title, "Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affairs," he answered that he was the author of those pieces; he was then ordered to withdraw.

Thursday, January 7. Congress resumed the consideration of the subject which was under debate yesterday. And the following set of resolutions were moved:

That all the late publications in the general advertiser, printed by John Dunlap, relative to American foreign affairs, are ill judged, premature and indiscrete, and that as they must in general be founded on very partial documents, and consequently depend much on conjecture, they ought not by any means be considered as justly authenticated.

That Congress never has given occasion for or sanction to any of the said publications;

That Congress never has received any species of military stores as a present from the court of France, or from any other court or persons in Europe;

That Mr. Thomas Paine for his imprudence ought immediately to be dismissed from his office of secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, and the said committee are directed to dismiss him accordingly, and to take such further steps relative to his misapplication of public papers as they shall deem necessary.

In amendment, and as a substitute to the foregoing, the following set of resolutions was moved:

Whereas Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, has acknowledged himself to be the author of a piece in the Pennsylvania packet of January 2d, 1779, under the title of Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affairs, in which is the following paragraph, viz., "If Mr. Deane or any other gentleman will procure an order from Congress to inspect an account in my office, or any of Mr. Deane's friends in Congress will take the trouble of coming themselves, I will give him or them my attendance, and shew them in a hand writing, which Mr. Deane is well acquainted with, that the supplies he so pompously plumes himself upon were promised and engaged, and that, as a present, before he even arrived in France; and the part that fell to Mr. Deane was only to see it done, and how he has performed that service the public are now acquainted with." The last paragraph in the account is "upon Mr. Deane's arrival in France the business went into his hands, and the aids were at length embarked in the Amphitrite, Mercury, and Seine." And whereas the said Thomas Paine hath also acknowledged himself to be the author of a piece in the succeeding packet of January 5th, 1779, under the same title, in which is the following paragraph, to wit, "and in the second instance, that those who are now her allies prefaced that alliance by an early and generous friendship, yet that we might not attribute too much to human or auxiliary aid, so unfortunate were these supplies that only one ship out of the three arrived. The Mercury and Seine fell into the hands of the enemy."

Resolved, That the insinuation contained in the said publications, that the supplies sent to America in the Amphitrite, Seine, and Mercury were a present from France, is untrue;

That the publications above recited tend to impose upon, mislead and deceive the public;

That the attempt of the said Thomas Paine to authenticate the said false insinuations, by referring to

papers in the office of the committee of foreign affairs, is an abuse of office ;

That the said Thomas Paine be, and he hereby is, dismissed from his said office.

A third set of resolutions was moved as an amendment and substitute to the two foregoing sets, viz.:

That Congress are deeply concerned at the imprudent publication of Mr. Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, referred to by the minister of France in his memorial of the 5th instant, and are ready to adopt any measure consistent with good policy and their own honour, for correcting any assertions or insinuations in the said publications, derogatory to the honour of the court of France ;

That a committee be appointed to consider the said memorial and paragraphs referred to, that they confer with the minister of France on the subject, and report as soon as may be.

In lieu of the whole, the following resolution was moved as a substitute, viz.:

Whereas exceptionable passages have appeared in Mr. Dunlap's Pennsylvania packet, of the 2d and 5th instant, under the character of Common Sense ; and Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, being called before Congress, avowed his being the author of those publications :

Resolved, That Thomas Paine be summoned to appear before Congress at eleven o'clock to-morrow, and be informed what those exceptionable passages are, and called upon to explain and to shew by what authority he made those publications, in order that Congress may take proper measures relative thereto.

The previous question was moved on the last amendment ; whereupon the sense of the house was taken, whether the previous question is in order on an amendment :

Resolved, That it is not in order.

On the question to substitute the last resolution as

an amendment to the whole, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. G. Morris.

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	ay	ay
Massachusetts-Bay	Mr. Gerry	no	no
	Mr. Lovell	no	
	Mr. Holten	ay	
Rhode-Island	Mr. Ellery	ay	divided
	Mr. Collins	no	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	ay	ay
	Mr. Root	ay	
New-York	Mr. Jay	no	no
	Mr. Duane	no	
	Mr. G. Morris	no	
	Mr. Lewis	no	
New-Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	no	no
	Mr. Scudder	no	
	Mr. Fell	no	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Roberdeau	ay	ay
	Mr. Atlee	no	
	Mr. Searle	ay	
Delaware	Mr. M'Kean	ay	ay
Maryland	Mr. Paca	no	no
	Mr. Carmichael	no	
	Mr. Henry	ay	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	no	no
	Mr. F. L. Lee	ay	
	Mr. M. Smith	no	
North-Carolina	Mr. Penn	no	no
	Mr. Hill	no	
	Mr. Burke	no	
South-Carolina	Mr. Laurens	ay	no
	Mr. Drayton	no	
	Mr. Hutson	no	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	no	no

So it passed in the negative.

Friday, January 8. A letter of this day from

Thomas Paine was read,* by which he resigns his office of secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, and in which are the following words, "finding by the journals of this house of yesterday that I am not to be heard," &c. whereupon,

A member desired to be informed how Mr. Paine had acquired that knowledge, and the secretary was desired to inform the house whether Mr. Paine had access to the journal; the secretary answered, "that Mr. Paine had not seen the journal of yesterday, nor had any other person had access to it since the last adjournment, as he had taken it home last night and brought it with him to Congress this morning, so that even the clerks in the office had not seen the minutes of yesterday, and that since the last adjournment he had not seen Mr. Paine, nor communicated the proceedings of Congress to any person whatever."

A motion was then made that Mr. Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, be directed immediately to attend at the bar of this house, to answer to certain questions respecting the contents of his letter to the president of Congress of this day.

After debate, a substitute was moved as follows:

That the members of Congress be separately examined by the president on their honour, whether they have communicated the resolutions of yesterday to Mr. Thomas Paine, and if so, in what manner they have made such representation.

After debate, when the question was about to be put, Mr. Laurens arose and declared that he had informed Mr. Paine, that a motion had been made for hearing him to-morrow, at eleven o'clock, which had been seconded, that the yeas and nays had been taken thereupon and passed in the negative: and that he referred him to Mr. Thomson for a sight of the journal, which would inform him more certainly, and he

* See Conway's Life of Paine, I. 131.

was persuaded Mr. Thomson would readily show him the journal.

Journals of Congress.

TRANSLATION.

Philadelphia, Jan. 10th, 1779.

SIR,—I cannot forbear to present to Congress the striking observations occasioned by the delay which the answer to my representation of the beginning of the past month meets with. Already the enemies of the common cause represent it as a proof of the diversity of the opinions which prevail in Congress, as if there could exist a contrariety of sentiments upon a subject so simple and a matter so clear that, to call it in question would be, at the same time, to call in question the solidity, and even the existence of the alliance. Certainly, Sir, no one is farther than myself from adopting suspicions which would be so fatal to the common cause; but I have had the honor to explain the motives which should induce Congress to give to this subject a ready, formal, and explicit declaration. They know that erroneous opinions become more difficult to destroy when they have had time to take root in men's minds; it is then wished to remedy the evil, but it is found irremediable. The greater part of these reflections is applicable, in an equal degree, to the declaration which I had the honor to make to Congress on the 5th of this month, and I wait impatiently for answers which may quiet my Court against the efforts made by the enemies to draw, from the facts in question, inferences injurious to the allies and the alliance, efforts of which Congress alone can avoid the dangers.

My zeal and my respect do not allow me to conceal from them apprehensions which seem to me but too well founded and worthy of all their attention.

I have the honor to be, &c.

GERARD.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., X. 262.

Monday, January 11. A memorial dated the 10th instant, from the honourable the sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France, was read:

Ordered, That the subject under debate on Thursday last be immediately taken into consideration.

On the question to substitute the third set of resolutions in lieu of the two foregoing:

Passed in the negative.

On the question to substitute the second set of resolutions in the room of the first:

Resolved, in the affirmative.

The first resolution in the second set was then read.

Resolved, That the consideration of the subject be postponed till to-morrow.

Tuesday, January 12. Congress resumed the consideration of the publications in the Pennsylvania packet of the 2d and 5th instant, under the title of Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affairs, of which Mr. Thomas Paine, secretary of the committee of foreign affairs, has acknowledged himself to be the author; and also the memorials of the minister plenipotentiary of France of the 5th and 10th instant, respecting the said publications; whereupon,

Resolved, unanimously, That in answer to the memorials of the honourable sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty, of the 5th and 10th instant, the president be directed to assure the said minister, that Congress do fully, in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publications referred to in his said memorials; and as they are convinced by indisputable evidence that the supplies shipped in the Amphitrite, Seine and Mercury were not a present, and that His Most Christian Majesty, the great and generous ally of these United States, did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatever sent to America, so they have not authorised the writer of

the said publications to make any such assertions as are contained therein, but on the contrary do highly disapprove of the same.

Journals of Congress.

Philadelphia, January 13, 1779.

Sir,—It is with real satisfaction that I execute the order of Congress for transmitting to you the inclosed copy of an Act of the 11th inst. on a subject rendered important by affecting the dignity of Congress, the honor of their great Ally, and the interest of both nations.

The explicit disavowal and high disapprobation of Congress relative to the publications referred to in this Act will, I flatter myself, be no less satisfactory to his most Christian Majesty than pleasing to the people of these States. Nor have I the least doubt but that every attempt to injure the reputation of either, or impair their mutual confidence, will meet with the indignation and resentment of both.

I have the honor to be, Sir, With great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

John Jay.

To the Hon. the Sieur Gerard,
Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

In Congress, January 12, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the publications in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 2d and 5th inst., under the title of "Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's Affair," of which Mr. T. Paine, Secretary to the Committee for foreign affairs, has acknowledged himself to be the author; and also the memorials of the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, of the 5th and 10th inst., respecting the said publications; whereupon,

Resolved, unanimously, That in answer to the me-

morials of the Hon. the Sieur Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Most Christian Majesty, of the 5th and 10th inst., the President be directed to assure the said Minister that Congress do fully, in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publications referred to in his said memorials; and as they are convinced by indisputable evidence that the supplies shipped in the Amphitrite, Seine, and Mercury were not a present, and that his Most Christian Majesty, the great and generous Ally of these United States, did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatever sent to America, so they have not authorized the writer of the said publications to make any such assertions as are contained therein; but, on the contrary, do highly disapprove of the same.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

To which Mr. Gerard returned the following answer:

Philadelphia, January 14, 1779.

SIR,—I have received the letter with which you honored me the 13th inst., inclosing the Resolve of Congress in answer to the representations I had the honor to make them on the 5th and 10th.

I intreat you to receive, and to express to Congress, the great sensibility with which I feel their frank, noble, and categorical manner of destroying those false and dangerous insinuations which might mislead ignorant people, and put arms into the hands of the common enemy.

To the King, my master, Sir, no proofs are necessary for the foundation of a confidence in the firm and constant adherence of Congress to the principles of the alliance; but his Majesty will always behold with pleasure the measures which Congress may take to preserve inviolate its reputation; and it is from the same consideration, I flatter myself, he will find my

representations on the 7th of December equally worthy of attention.

I am, with respect and consideration, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant,

GERARD.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

In Congress, January 14, 1779.

The Committee to whom was referred the letter of the 7th Dec., 1778, from the Hon. Sieur Gerard, brought in a report, which was taken into consideration, and thereupon Congress came to the following Resolution :

Whereas it hath been represented to this House by the Hon. Sieur Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary of France, that "it is pretended the United States have preserved the liberty of treating with Great-Britain separately from their Ally, as long as Great-Britain shall not have declared war against the King, his master;" therefore

Resolved unanimously, That, as neither France or these United States may of right, so these United States will not, conclude peace or truce with the common enemy without the formal consent of their Ally first obtained; and that any matters or things which may be insinuated or asserted to the contrary thereof tend to the injury and dishonour of the said States.

Extract from the Minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 16, 1779.

Saturday, January 16. Congress took into consideration the letters from Thomas Paine; whereupon a motion was made,

That Mr. Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, be dismissed from office.

To which an amendment was offered as a substitute in the following words :

"That Thomas Paine be directed to attend at the bar of this house on Monday next at eleven o'clock, to answer whether he had any direction or permission from the committee of foreign affairs, for the publications of which he confessed himself to be the author when he was before the house on the 6th day of January last."

Another amendment was moved as a substitute to both the foregoing propositions in the words following :

"Whereas Congress were about to proceed against Thomas Paine, secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, for certain publications and letters as being inconsistent with his official character and duty, when the said Thomas Paine resigned his office ; thereupon,

"*Resolved*, That the said Thomas Paine is dismissed from any farther service in the said office, and the committee of foreign affairs are directed to call upon said Thomas Paine, and receive from him on oath all public letters, papers, and documents in his possession."

A fourth amendment was moved as a substitute to the whole in the words following :

"*Resolved*, That the committee of foreign affairs be directed to take out of the possession of Thomas Paine, all the public papers entrusted to him as secretary to that committee, and then discharge him from that office."

When the question was about to be put, a division was called for, and the question being put to adopt the first part,

Passed in the affirmative.

On the question to adopt the second part, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Lovell,

It was resolved in the affirmative.

The question being then about to be put on the main question, a division was called for, and the yeas and nays being required on the first part by Mr. McKean,

Resolved, unanimously, in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the second clause,

namely, "and then discharge him from that office," the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Penn,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	no	no
Massachusetts-Bay	Mr. Gerry	no	no
	Mr. S. Adams	no	
	Mr. Lovell	no	
	Mr. Holten	ay	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	no	divided
	Mr. Collins	ay	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	no	no
	Mr. Root	no	
New York	Mr. Jay	ay	ay
	Mr. Lewis	ay	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Roberdeau	no	no
	Mr. Searle	no	
	Mr. Atlee	ay	
	Mr. Shippen	no	
Delaware	Mr. M'Kean	no	no
Maryland	Mr. Paca	ay	ay
	Mr. Carmichael	ay	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	ay	ay
	Mr. F. L. Lee	no	
	Mr. M. Smith	ay	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	ay	ay
	Mr. Hill	ay	
	Mr. Burke	ay	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton	ay	divided
	Mr. Hutson	no	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	ay	ay

So the states being divided the clause was lost.

Journals of Congress.

Statement of Robert Morris.

To the Public.

I was not a little surprized to find my character traduced in a publication, stiled *Common Sense* to the

Public, on Mr. Deane's affair, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 5th instant, though that surprize would have been greater, had not the following insinuation appeared in a prior publication on the same subject, and by the same author, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 31 December last, viz. : "I wish in this place to step a moment from the floor of office, and press it on every state to enquire what mercantile connections any of the late or present Delegates have had, or now have, with Mr. Deane, and that a precedent might not be wanting, it is important that the State of Pennsylvania should begin."

I think it proper to make a few remarks on this paragraph, before I proceed to take particular notice of the more explicit charge contained in the paper of the 5th instant. Why the author quitted Mr. Deane to bring me on the stage is immaterial; and as I do not mean to enter the lists with him, I shall content myself with stating simply the facts he has alluded to. I do not conceive that the State I live in has any right or inclination to enquire into what mercantile connections I have had or now have with Mr. Deane, or with any other person : if Mr. Deane had any commerce that was inconsistent with his public station, he must answer for it; as I did not, by becoming a Delegate for the State of Pennsylvania, relinquish my right of form ing mercantile connections, I was unquestionably at liberty to form such with Mr. Deane. My now giving the account this author desires, is not to gratify him, or to resign the right I contend for, but purely to remove the force of his insinuation on that subject; and to do this effectually, I will candidly relate all the commercial concerns I have had with Mr. Deane. The first was a concern in a brig and cargo fitted out by Mr. Delap of Bordeaux, for this country; one-third on his own account, one-third on Mr. Deane's, and the other third on account of Willing, Morris and Co. This vessel was taken, and Mr. Delap charged my house, whose monies he had in hand, for their share.

The second was in a valuable ship and cargo fitted for America, by an eminent merchant in France, who advanced the money for Willing, Morris and Company's share, which amounted to 50,000 livres, or 2,187 l. 10 s. sterling, and has since been repaid with interest, by remittances made from this country for that purpose. I always understood Mr. Deane's share to have been the same, and circumstanced in the like manner.

The third and last concern was as follows: I proposed to Mr. Deane and some other friends, to fit out a privateer to cruize on the British trade. To pay for my share, I shipped eighty-six hogsheads of tobacco on board the ship in which the intended Captain of the privateer went passenger to France. A French gentleman of rank and consequence in Paris adopted this plan, and undertook to have it executed; but by the mismanagement and villainy of some of the agents he employed, it was rendered abortive, and the parties concerned lost about one thousand pounds sterling in charges and expenses. What share Mr. Deane held in this adventure, or whether any I really do not know. These are all the mercantile connections or concerns I had with Mr. Deane while he was in France, and the two first took place whilst he acted as Commercial Agent.

Whether in consequence of my good opinion of Mr. Deane as a man of honour and integrity, I have been led to form any and what new concerns with him since his arrival here, is a matter which the public are no ways interested to know.

The express charge against me in the publication of the 5th instant, is in these words: "Hitherto our whole anxiety has been absorbed in the means for supporting our Independence, and we have paid but little attention to the expenditure of money; yet we see it daily depreciating, and how should it be otherwise, when so few public accounts are settled, and new emissions continually going on? I will venture to

mention one circumstance, which I hope will be sufficient to awaken the attention of the public to this subject. In October, 1777, some books of the Commercial Committee, in which, among other things, were kept the accounts of Mr. Thomas Morris, appointed a Commercial Agent in France, were by Mr. Robert Morris's request taken into his possession to be settled, he having obtained from the Council of this State, six months leave of absence from Congress, to settle his affairs. In February following these books were called for by Congress; but not being completed, were not delivered. In September, 1778, Mr. Morris returned them to Congress in, or nearly in, the same unsettled state he took them, which, with the death of Mr. Thomas Morris, may probably involve those accounts in further embarrassment. The amount of expenditures on those books is considerably above two millions of dollars."

I shall now give the true state of these matters. My leave of absence from Congress was obtained from the Supreme Executive Council at Lancaster, the 11th day of November, 1777, and bears that date. I returned to Congress, and on the 28th of November, informed them of my leave of absence obtained to settle the affairs of the late house of Willing, Morris and Co., as well as my own; and as some leisure time might occur, I offered in full Congress to take home the books of the Secret Committee, which were then unemployed, and devote what time I could spare to them. The offer was accepted by general consent, although no resolution was entered, it being unnecessary. The day I left Congress, I was appointed on a Committee to repair to Head-Quarters, from whence I did not return to Manheim, then my place of residence, until the 14th or 15th day of December, at which time the books were not arrived, nor did they reach me until the latter end of that month. I deny that Congress called on me for those books in February, but early in that month I was informed that some matters to my prejudice had

been insinuated by a Member in Congress respecting these books, whereupon I wrote a letter, dated the 8th of February, 1778, to the Commercial Committee (who then had the direction of them), complaining of the injury, and offering to return them, and received an answer, dated the 21st of February, containing the following clause: "We laid this letter (meaning mine of the 8th), before Congress, who desired us to inform you, that they would have you still keep the books in your possession, and settle them as soon as you could." Accordingly I retained them, and until they were redelivered, employed on them the little leisure which remained from my private avocations, and the many interruptions occasioned by public business, which pursued me in my retirement, and many times obliged me to visit York-town, each visit taking up from four to six days.

In the beginning of June, I went to camp, at Valley-Forge, and remained there until the evacuation of this city; after a week's stay here, I returned to Manheim, to bring down my family and effects. I was again in Philadelphia the 4th day of July, the anniversary of our glorious Independence, and in the course of a week or ten days, my effects, and with them the books in question, came down and remained unopened until I delivered them to the Clerk of the Commercial Committee, which I think was in that month, July. Thus it appears, that instead of having these books to work in from October, 1777, to September, 1778; it was in my power to do so only from the latter end of December, 1777, to the first of June, 1778; and although but little of that time could possibly be devoted to them, they were far from being returned in the same or nearly the same unsettled state they were received; on the contrary, these books will shew that I settled a number of accounts, the entries being made with my own hands in the waste-book, and then journalized and posted by my clerks, until the ledger was filled, and no room to open any more accounts in it, I sent to Lancaster to

procure paper of the same size, to be sewed into that book, that I might go on, but none suitable could be got, and I was obliged to stop.

Mr. Thomas Morris's papers were seized on his death in France by the King's officers, according to the custom in that country ; they were afterwards delivered to and kept by the American Commissioners, until orders should appear respecting them from hence. I applied to Congress for an order to have them delivered to my Agent, and though at that time ignorant of the state of his accounts, I pledged myself to Congress, although no ways bound to do so, that I would pay any balance that might be due from him to the public. These papers I have not yet received, nor do I know whether the order for them has reached my Agent's hands ; but the house at Nantes, who, under my brother's direction, transacted all his business, have rendered full, and I am told, clear accounts of all the public concerns to the Commercial Committee, so that there is no embarrassment that I know of ; and instead of his being a debtor, the balance is in favour of that house, 50,380 livres, 2 sous, 9 deniers, or about 2,204 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling, which they stopped from monies of Willing, Morris and Company, in their hands, and have empowered me to receive the same from Congress.

By the manner of mentioning that the amount of expenditures on the Committee's Books is considerably above two millions of dollars, some people may be led to imagine that I stand accountable for that sum. The fact is thus : the accounts in these books are kept by double entry, and the Treasurer and Auditor are credited for all the monies drawn from them by the Committee ; those who received are charged and accountable for what they did receive. Many gentlemen from New-Hampshire to Georgia entered into contracts for procuring supplies, on which they received part of this money, for which they have accounted or are to account, and in like manner is my late house and myself to account for all monies by them and me received.

Twice I have settled Willing, Morris and Company's accounts with the Secret Committee, and entries thereof are in their books. The last was closed in May, 1778, with a balance in favour of the former. There are, it is true, many things yet to be settled. I have made out a state of them, and would most gladly make a final settlement, if practicable. That cannot now be done, because some account, sales, and accounts current are not yet received from Europe, and many articles of goods, which are finally to be articles of these accounts, have been, by inevitable accidents, lodged in the West-Indies, and must be carried to account, in different ways, on the contingency of their safe arrival within the United States. On the best computation I can make of all the depending accounts my late house and myself have with the continent, it clearly appears that a considerable balance is due to us, and I shall either make a speedy settlement or, if circumstances continue to keep that out of my power, I will lay before Congress a full state and clear estimate of these dependencies, when, I doubt not, they will do ample justice to my character.

Out of respect to that public, with which I wish to stand as fair as my real conduct and character deserve, I must add that, so far have I been from protracting the settlement of public accounts, that I have, on all occasions, promoted such settlements and all measures that tended thereto. In November, 1777, before I left Congress at York-town, I drew a report from the Commercial Committee for establishing a Board of Commissioners to manage the public commerce, and, of course, to settle those accounts, urging that it was impossible for Members of Congress, if ever so well acquainted with business, to attend the House and do that duty. I pressed this frequently; but the report, meeting with some opposition, remains to this day undetermined on.

After joining Congress again in this city, I moved that the Members of the Secret Committee, who were

then Members of Congress, might, as being most competent, be reappointed a Committee to finish the settlement of their accounts, which was agreed; but those Members being much engaged in other business, could not attend, and therefore, with the concurrence of one of them that did attend, I hired an accomptant to work on their books, which he did until stopped by sickness in the first instance; and when he returned to the business, he was discharged by a Member of the new appointed Commercial Committee, who, I understand, have undertaken to finish the settlement of these accounts.

I will only add, that it is in my power to prove, by papers in my possession, papers and records in the public offices, or by living witnesses of unquestionable character, every fact and circumstance that I have laid before the public.

ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, January 7, 1779.

Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, presents his compliments to such Printers as may re-publish the performance, stiled Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's Affair, and requests they will re-publish therewith the above Address to the Public, and he will chearfully pay their drafts on him for the charge of printing.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 9, 1779.

THOMAS PAINE'S REPLY TO ROBERT MORRIS.

COMMON SENSE *to the* PUBLIC.

The appearance of an address signed Robert Morris, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of Jan. 9, has occasioned me to renew the subject, by offering some necessary remarks on that performance.

It is customary with writers to make apologies to the public for the frequency of their publications; but I beg to have it well understood, that any such apology

from me would be an affront to them. It is their cause, *not mine*, that I am and have all this while been pleading; and as I ought not to suppose any unwillingness in the public to be informed of matters which is their interest to know, so I ought not to suppose it necessary in me to apologize to them for doing an act of duty and justice.

The public will please to remember, that in Mr. Dunlap's paper of December 21, in which the piece signed Plain Truth made its illegitimate appearance, there was likewise published in the same paper, a short piece of mine, signed *Common Sense*, in which, speaking of the uproar raised to support Mr. Deane, I used these words: "*I believe the whole affair to be an inflammatory bubble, thrown among the public, to answer both a mercantile end and a private pique;*" and in the paper of the 2d instant I have likewise said, "*The uncommon fury that has been spread to support Mr. Deane is not altogether for his sake;*" and in the same paper, speaking of a supposed mercantile connection between Mr. Deane and other parties, then unknown, I again said, "*It would suit their plan exceedingly well to have Mr. Deane appointed ambassador to Holland, because so situated, he would become a convenient partner in trade, or a useful factor.*"

It must, I think, appear clear to the public, that among other objects, I have been endeavouring, by occasional allusions, for these three weeks past, to force out the very evidence that Mr. Morris has produced; and though I could have given a larger history of circumstances than that gentleman has done, or had any obligation to do, yet as the account given by him comes from a confessed private partnership between a Delegate in Congress and a servant of that house, in the character of a Commercial Agent, it is fully sufficient to all the public purposes to which I mean to apply it; and it being therefore needless for me to seek any farther proofs, I shall now proceed to offer my remarks thereon.

Mr. Morris acknowledges to have had three private mercantile contracts with Mr. Deane, while himself was a Delegate. Two of those contracts, he says, were made while Mr. Deane acted as Commercial Agent; the other, therefore, must be after Mr. Deane was advanced to a Commissioner. To what a degree of corruption must we sink, if our Delegates and Ambassadors are to be admitted to carry on a private partnership in trade? Why not as well go halves with every Quartermaster and Commissary in the army? No wonder if our Congress should lose its vigour, or that the remains of public spirit should struggle without effect. No wonder that Mr. Deane should be so violently supported by Members of that house, and that myself, who have been labouring to fish out and prove this partnership offence so dangerous to the common good, should, in the interim, be made the object of daily abuse. I have very little doubt but that the real Mr. Plain Truth is another of the connection in some stile or degree; and that the chain is more extensive than I choose to express my belief. The displacing the honourable Arthur and William Lee would have opened a field to a still greater extension, and as that had enlarged, the circle of the public spirit must have lessened.

Mr. Morris says in his address, "That he does not conceive that the State he lives in has any *right* or *inclination* to enquire into what mercantile connections he has had, or now has, with Mr. Deane." Mr. Morris asserts this as a reply to the following, a paragraph of mine, which he has quoted from Mr. Dunlap's paper of December 31st, viz.:

"I wish in this place to step a moment from the floor of office, and press it on every State to enquire what mercantile connections any of their late or present Delegates have had, or now have, with Mr. Deane, and that a precedent might not be wanting, it is important that this State, *Pennsylvania, should begin.*"

Mr. Morris seems to deny their having such a right;

and I perfectly agree with him, that they *have* no such right, and can assume no such power, over Mr. Morris, Mr. Deane, or any other persons, as private gentlemen. But I hope Mr. Morris will allow, that no such connection *ought* to be formed between himself, while a Member of Congress, and Mr. Deane, while a Commercial Agent, accountable for his conduct to that Congress, of which Mr. Morris then sat as a Member; and that any such connection, as it may deeply affect the interest of the whole United States, is a proper object of enquiry to the state he represents or has represented; for though no law is in being to make it punishable, yet the tendency of it makes it dangerous, and the inconsistency of it renders it censurable.

Mr. Morris says, "*If Mr. Deane had any commerce that was inconsistent with his public station, he must answer for it.*" So likewise must Mr. Morris; and if it was censurable in Mr. Deane to carry on such a commerce while he was Commercial Agent, it is equally as censurable in Mr. Morris to be concerned in it while a Delegate. Such a connection unfits the Delegate for his duty in Congress, by making him a partner with the servant over whose conduct he sits as one of his judges; and the losses or advantages attending such a traffic, on the part of the Agent, tempts him to an undue freedom with public money and public credit.

Is it right that Mr. Deane, a servant of Congress, should sit as a Member of that House, when his own conduct was before the House for judgment? Certainly not. But the *interest* of Mr. Deane has sat there in the person of his partner, Mr. Robert Morris, who, at the same time that he represented this State, represented likewise the partnership in trade. Only let this doctrine of Mr. Morris's take place, and the consequences will be fatal both to public interest and public honour. By the same right that one Delegate may enter into a private commercial partnership with any Agent, Commissioner, or Ambassador, every Del-

egate may do the same; and if only a majority of Congress should form such a company, such Agents, Commissioners, or Ambassadors, will always find support and protection in Congress, even in the abuse of their trust and office. Besides which, it is an infringement upon the general freedom of trade, as such persons or companies, by having always the public monies in their hands, and public credit to sport with and support them, will possess unfair advantages over every other private merchant and trader.

One of those advantages is, that he or they will be enabled to carry on trade without employing their own money, which, laying by that means at interest, is more than equal to an insurance in times of peace, and a great abatement of it in time of war; and consequently, the public always pays the whole of the insurance in the one case, and a great part of it in the other.

But suppose the partnership of such Delegates and Ambassadors should break, or meet with losses they cannot sustain, on whom then will the burden of bankruptcy fall?

Mr. Morris having declared what his former mercantile connections with Mr. Deane have been, proceeds to say, that "Whether in consequence of his good opinion of Mr. Deane as a man of honour and integrity, he has been led to form any, and what new concerns with him since his arrival here, is a matter which the public are no ways interested to know."

They certainly have no right to know, on the part of Mr. Morris, as he is not now a Member of Congress (having served out the full time limited by the Constitution of this State); neither have they any right to know, on the part of Mr. Deane, while he remains a private character. But if Mr. Deane has formed a chain of mercantile connections here, it is a very good reason why he should not be appointed an Ambassador to Holland, or elsewhere; because so situated and circumstanced, the authority of America

would be disgraced, and her interest endangered, by his becoming a "*partner*" with, or a "*factor*" to, the company. And this brings me to and establishes the declaration I first set out with, viz., that the uproar to support Mr. Deane was "*an inflammatory bubble thrown among the public to answer both a mercantile and a private pique.*"

One of the objections advanced against the Hon. Arthur and William Lee was, that they had two brothers in Congress. I think it a very great honour to all those gentlemen, and an instance most rarely seen, that those same four brothers have, from the first beginning, been most uniform Whigs. The principle of not investing too many honours in any one family is a very good one, and ought always to have its weight; but it is barbarous and cruel to attempt to make a crime of that which is a credit.

Brothers are but awkward advocates for each other, because the natural connection being seen and known, they speak and act under the disadvantage of being supposed to be prepossessed. The open relationship, therefore, is nothing so dangerous as a private mercantile connection between Delegates and Ambassadors, because such connections bias, or buy us, if you please, and is covered and in the dark. And the interest of the Delegate being thus tied by a secret unseen cord to the Agent, affords the former the splendid opportunity of appearing to defend the latter from principle, whereas it is from interest.

The haste with which I was obliged to conclude my last piece prevented my taking that proper leave I wished to do. In the course of my late publications I have had no other object in view than to serve the public from being misled and made fools of by Mr. Deane's specious address of December 5. In the course of my late publications I have given them some useful information and several agreeable and interesting anecdotes; for of what use is my office to me if I can make no good use of it? The pains I have taken, and the

trouble I have undergone, in this act of public duty, have been very considerable. I have met with much opposition from various quarters. Some have misunderstood me; others have misrepresented me; but the far greater part were those whose private interests or unwarrantable connections were in danger of being brought to light thereby, and I now leave the public to judge whether, or not, I have acted in behalf of their interest or against it, and with that question I take my leave.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 11, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 12, 1779.

THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS AT PARIS.

FOR THE MORNING POST.

MR. EDITOR,—Silas Deane, the first public negociator for Congress, got to France some time before the declaration of independence, and appeared on his arrival at Nantz, Bordeaux, and other sea ports to be no more than a mercantile adventurer, and was at first rather an *incognito* at Paris; he not only wanted the dress and address of a Gentleman, but was without the language necessary to recommend him to the attention of the Parisian Noblesse and Gentry. His person is mean, and his dress rather that of a Puritan Quaker; wearing a bushy grey wig, and which when decorated with a sword, rendered the *toute ensemble* rather a laughable character among the polite group of Versailles. His first intimacy was with Beaumarchais, who introduced him to old Maurepas, and the other Ministers of State. His errand at first pleased and flattered the vanity of the French court, more than it was serviceable to the cause of his *vagrant* employers; for the Court and Ministry were divided in opinion as to assisting America in her intended revolt; and Mr. Deane had once left

Paris with an answer, "That nothing could be done for subjects in rebellion." The Queen's party however prevailed, and Mr. Deane was called back, and became more and more of consequence until the arrival of Dr. Franklin, who, from coming armed with more extensive orders and offers, soon eclipsed the political consequence of Mr. Deane, who seemingly sunk as the other rose. Mr. Deane is accused wrongfully if he did not break his trust, by making some considerable advantages in sending out private ships with adventures to America, by making several thousands in the English stocks about the period of Burgoyne's captivity, and by disobliging the Congress in other respects, so as to induce them to give him a peremptory recall. He returned to America with Comte D'Estaing, has resumed his seat in Congress, and has published a journal of his political proceedings, while at Paris, calculated chiefly to make his peace at home, but in which he has exposed some secret offers made by Administration to the French for the purchase of their neutrality. He is more a bookish man than a political genius, and is a tolerable good historian. He was elected a member to the first Congress, for Connecticut, where he inherits from his father a small landed patrimony. He employed the earlier part of life as a private tutor, and was for a few years a schoolmaster. His private character is but a tolerable one; his public one has not yet produced any thing remarkable, and he was never looked upon as a man of any abilities or consequence in Congress.

Dr. Franklin is the next in rotation, and may be looked upon as the most ripened republican politician in the new world. In this business of independence, however, he seems to have overshot his mark, for he has nearly ruined his own country, and brought France into war with her *new* and *great allies* that he will scarcely extricate her from for some years. The old veteran in mischief was in England, was an agent for New England and Pennsylvania at the breaking out of the war in America, and, after sowing the seeds of

commotion in this country, went out to reap the benefits of them with his friends in Congress; and on his arrival was chosen Delegate to Congress for Philadelphia, one of the Secret Council, and President of the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania.

He is said to be the father and promoter of the thirteen articles of confederation, and *perpetual* union; and after establishing this (I hope) rope of sand, he assisted in the forming plans for foreign negociations, and had the art to get himself appointed, with very extensive powers, and a salary of a thousand pounds a year to the Court of France. He formed this plan with his old friend Mons. Maurepas, before he took shipping last from London, and was consequently received with open arms by that subtle and cunning Minister, on his arrival at Paris in the winter 1776. It was much lamented in England, that he was permitted to return again to America, and more so, when his arrival at Paris was announced to all Europe. He arrived rather unexpectedly in France; and from his grotesque habit of a Canada fur-cap covering his straight silver locks, and a bear-skin pelice, he was at first talked of and stared at as a meteor. Whatever Mr. Deane might have done prior to this old snake's arrival, the Doctor, nevertheless, has the credit in his country of forming the regulations in trade, procuring loans both in France and Holland, framing the treaties of amity and partition, &c. &c., and the event only can shew whether they will be beneficial to the *new* and *mighty states*. Exclusive of the literati, the Doctor's principal guide and friend at Paris is old Maurepas; and there is not perhaps two geniuses existing so similar in vindictive subtility, watchfulness, and political trick. The Doctor is now about eighty five years of age, was born of very mean parents in Boston, and there served an early and short apprenticeship to a printer. Supposing, as most of his countrymen did at that early period, that Philadelphia was the seat of arts, learning, and commerce, he quitted his master and friends, and begged his way to that once

flourishing capitol. He worked as a printer's-devil long enough to earn as much money as brought him to London, where he for some years laboured as a journeyman, and was very often obliged to write and print halfpenny songs for the common ballad singers, in order to procure himself a dinner. His poverty and friends prevailed on him to return again to Philadelphia, where he became the editor and proprietor of a newspaper, which, together with his profits as a writer and vendor of almanacks, soon placed him above want: his rage, however, for the purchase of mathematic and elastic machines always kept him low and needy; and I believe at this period, he inherits very little, if any thing in America. Although his education was very narrow and contracted, he certainly ranks among the foremost of philosophers, and some of his literary productions are well spoken of; he is, however, thought by some to be rather more triflingly amusing, than substantially convincing. He has a good political head; his conversation is fluent and pleasing, without being argumentative; and his address remarkably stiff and awkward. In the line of his former politics, he ever had as many enemies as friends, and his rectitude and honesty (before very much doubted) received a severe stroke on the affair of purloining the papers of Governor Hutchinson from Mr. Whately, and which was so ably argued, and the transaction so severely condemned to the Doctor's face before the privy council, as to need no comment. The old traitor is soon to be left sole plenepotentiary at Paris, and his worthy colleagues are to be appointed to other courts.

Arthur Lee received his appointment from Congress as a joint Commissioner with the former two on the arrival of Dr. Franklin, and soon quitted his law-books in the Temple to join the community of *worthies* at Paris. He is the younger brother of a large family, in Virginia, more noted for their abilities in public life, than respected for nice honour, or the useful liberality of their countrymen. His two elder brothers are very leading men in Congress, and are said to have joined the north-

ern faction, in opposition to their former friend and neighbour General Washington. His brother, the quondam Alderman, who is appointed commercial agent for Congress in Europe, and now settled at Frankfort, needs no comment on his character; for it is well known to be strongly tinctured with avarice, parsimony, selfishness, and meaness. Mr. A. Lee was bred to physic in Edinburgh, and made an unsuccessfu attempt to practice it in England. He took up the law, and his practice as a counsellor scarcely gave him bread during his four years residence in the Temple: indeed, his turn to politics, pamphleteering, and close attention to a late Secretary of State, and now a flaming patriot, was a bar to his law practice. His abilities are above the common standard, and his pamphlet in defence of his country, and its cause, contained much argument and good sense. He was approved by the first Congress as a joint agent with Dr. Franklin in England, and handed to the then Minister of State that evasive and equivocal petition from Congress brought over by George Penn. His language, and acquaintance with French manners, gave him some advantage at first over his colleagues; but his manner, ever disgusting, soon got him many enemies. He was appointed to bear the overtures of America to his Prussian Majesty, and was attended on his commission by the notorious Mr. Sayre, by some called Sheriff Sayre, others Tower Sayre, and others Banker Sayre, and who is now employed by the *discerning* Congress as an agent at Copenhagen. A few days after the arrival of these heroes at Berlin, and before they had bended the knee to royalty, their apartments in a hotel were broken open, and plundered of all their *very important* papers; by which means the British ministry became acquainted with their offers, as well as all the prior proceedings and offers from Congress in Europe. They very unjustly and roundly charged the British minister with the theft to the King; but old Frederick laughing in his sleeve at their mishap, very soon convinced them they had nothing to hope from his

court. Soon after this Mr. Lee went on a like message into Spain, where (tho' not permitted to enter the capitol on the request of the English ambassador) he was better received, and met a few miles out of it the Secretary of State Mr. Grimaldi, and got his answer. Mr. Lee is yet a young man, has an unpleasant stiffness in conversation, a family homeliness of feature, an ill natured asperity of manners, and a selfishness very ill adapted to his present exhalted situation, and which may account for his present disunion and variance with his two colleagues.

John Adams, the now third Commissioner at Paris, was appointed to succeed the recalled Mr. Deane. His proscribed relation and name sake, who is still the political ruler of Congress, obtained for him this appointment, to which trust he had neither property or abilities enough to recommend him; but his being the most flaming violent *patriot* of all his Bostonian friends made up for all other deficiencies. He is a meer cypher at Paris as yet, does not understand a word of French, disgusted with the volatile spirits of the Parisians, extremely awkward in his manners, warm in his passions, uncooth in his dress and figure, and a truly fanatic bigot. He was bred to law, and has no other character at home than that of a cunning hard headed attorney.

Ralph Izard, who is the most vehement and hot mouthed of the tribe, has spent so much of his time in Europe (particularly in London) as to become a suspected politician in his own country, and his conduct with and marriage into the Delancey family of New York, who were always government people, gave much room for the suspicion. His appointment from the *high* and *mighty* Congress as a Commissioner to the court of Turin effectually fixed his politics, and he hastily left England with a large family two years ago. Mr. Izard was a principle agent and second in the notorious duel between Mr. Whately and Mr. Temple, occasioned by the theft of Gov. Hutchinson's letters and papers, as before alluded to, and is accused of joining in the scheme

of saving the public reputation of Doctor Franklin, at the expence of his friend Mr. Temple's honour. Mr. Izard may be reckoned among the foremost of men of property in South Carolina, and had a more regular foreign education than most of his country can boast, but he has distinguished himself more in the school of Broughton than in the belles letters, his heat and impetuosity of temper has led him into many scrapes, and will probably be disservicable to him at the court where he now resides. He is a man of good domestic character, though fiery and violent in his passions, proud and arrogant to those about him, and though he has travelled a good deal, is by no means a man of the world.

The Morning Post, London, Jan. 12, 1779.

Candid on Thomas Paine's Articles.

To the Printer of the Pennsylvania Packet.

Sir,—*By inserting the following you will oblige a customer.*

I have lately met with, in your paper, Mr. Deane's address to the public, and one or two pieces relative to it, for I cannot call them refutations, under the signature of Common Sense and Thomas Payne who I find are the same. What the designs of one or both of these writers may be I take not upon myself to say, they both pretend to be actuated by zeal for the public good, and Mr. Deane has opened a scene, I am sure, deserves to be very closely and accurately examined; there appears, however, so much acrimony in those pieces of Common Sense, that it naturally creates a suspicion that his motives are not altogether so disinterested as he would have it believed. Be that as it will it is certainly very disingenuous when any charge is brought before the public against any of their servants, to draw

off their attention from it, to the person who gave the information, and by bold assertions, or an abuse of official confidence, to injure his reputation, or endeavor to destroy his credit; and for attempting this in the case of Mr. Deane, I think Mr. Lee owes Common Sense very little thanks. There is a tribunal before which the matter betwixt these gentlemen and the public is triable, and to which it must be referred, nor will all the art of a thousand such writers, artful as he is, divert them from the pursuits, or make them sit down contented until it is cleared up; but they are apt to imagine that cause cannot be a very good one that wants such props.

There is no doubt that the office of Secretary for foreign affairs, which Mr. Payne has sometime held, must have made him acquainted with many things the public are ignorant of, but now he seems disposed to admit them behind the scenes—by what authority it may be proper to ask? But he is not yet erected into a judge of the conduct of our Ministers, though he must have viewed himself in that light, when he authoritatively decided "that Mr. Deane's accounts are not satisfactory," for I presume, supposing that to have been the opinion of the Committee for foreign affairs, he does not publish it officially, as their judgment in the matter, had it been referred to their consideration, which I believe it has not, they must know is not conclusive, and therefore they would not authorize him to declare it.

I am equally unacquainted with Mr. Deane, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Payne, but I know that many sensible, intelligent men were much surprized, and have long been uneasy that an office of so great trust as that of Secretary for foreign affairs should have been committed to a stranger, without either connections or apparent property in the country, and the use he is making of his official consequence seems, but too well, to justify the jealousy they entertained.

I am no advocate for Mr. Deane, nor have any prejudices against Mr. Lee. Mr. Deane has accused him;

the accusations must be enquired into; until that is done, I wish the public to remain unbiassed.

CANDID.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 12, 1779.

DEANE'S CARD TO THE PUBLIC.

To the PUBLIC.

I informed my countrymen and fellow-citizens on the 7th of December last, that Congress had resolved to hear me, and that I did not at that time consider myself at liberty to address them further.

I have now to inform them, that I have been heard by that honourable body, and have laid before them a narrative of my transactions, as their Agent and Minister in Europe, and that I attend their decision on my conduct. Nothing which Mr. Payne has published could have induced me to alter my resolution to remain silent, until the determination of Congress should be known, had he not in his wanton madness for abuse, invective and misrepresentation, ventured to state the affair of the supplies, which were returned by me in France, in a manner totally contrary to the truth, and highly injurious to these States, as well as to the justice, honour, and dignity of the Court of France. He has asserted and laboured to prove, that those supplies were not a commercial concern, but a *present*, and that this *present* was made previous to my arrival in France. I shall content myself at present with assuring the public that this is a falsehood in every part of it, and that Congress have long since had the fullest proofs laid before them of what I now assert, which proofs shall at a proper time be laid before the public.

I cannot condescend to follow this writer into that labyrinth of invective and falsehoods into which he endeavours to lead the public judgment; but as his bold assertions and pretensions to State secrets may impose on persons unacquainted with his character, I beg leave

to lay before the public, the following out of the many falsehoods, with which his publications teem :

With a view to lessen the public opinion of the effects of my exertions in the service of my country, he says, "*that we might not attribute too much to human or auxiliary aid, so unfortunate were those supplies, that only one ship out of the three arrived; the Mercury and Siene fell into the hands of the enemy.*"

The fact is thus : eight ships sailed from France, with those supplies, viz. : The Amphitrite, the Siene, the Mercure, the Therese, the Amelia, the Marie Catherine, the Mere Boobie, and the Flammand. Of these eight vessels, with supplies of artillery, cloathing, and warlike stores, to the amount of about four million of livres, one only fell into the hands of the enemy ; the Seine on account of the season of the year, went to Martinico, instead of venturing on the coast, as I had ordered it, and, after delivering a capital part of her cargo to Mr. Bingham, Agent for Congress, was taken by the enemy with the remainder, on her passage from that island to these States.

S. Deane.

N. B. A livre is nearly equal to ten-pence half-penny sterling.

Philadelphia, January 11, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 14, 1779.

Defence of Arthur Lee.

To the Printer of the Pennsylvania Packet.

Sir,—I have read Mr. Deane's publication in your paper of the 5th of December, and the strictures made upon it in several subsequent papers by one who wrote under the signature of Common Sense. The manner in which Mr. Deane introduced his performance struck my attention, and raised my curiosity to hear what he had to say with candor. It was addressed to the free

and virtuous citizens of America—"a most venerable and impartial tribunal." "I do not," says he, "address you on my own account, but yours." The subject must indeed be momentous. "I do not wish to prejudice any man, but to serve my country." Disinterested patriotism! "But I will not see an individual or a family raised upon the ruins of the general weal." One would now think there had been plots—plots upon plots—horrid conspiracies to ruin Mr. Deane's beloved country. "While it was safe to be silent my lips were closed. Necessity has opened them to serve by informing you." And who would not have felt this obligation to Mr. Deane, if he had really served by informing us? Still, we will give him credit for his benevolent intentions. What I write to you I would have said to your Representatives. But—is it true "that their ears have been shut against him?" If it is not true, the Congress have been too busily employed in the great affairs of the public, or they are too magnanimous to take notice of the bold assertion.

After an exordium so replete with warm professions of unbiassed patriotism and zeal for the public good; after Mr. Deane had felt himself so pressed with the necessity of revealing to the free and virtuous citizens of America the mischievous designs of an individual, or a family; after he had declared that the ears of that body who ought to hear him were shut against him, one would have expected that in a solemn appeal to the public at large he would have explicitly declared what he had uttered in dark sayings, and brought both chapter and verse to prove that what the individual, the family, and the Congress would seem to have combined to hide from the public eye, was a dangerous plot indeed. But look through the whole piece, and you will find from the beginning to the end mere insinuations or assertions without the shadow of evidence, and the appearance at best of disappointment and a disturbed mind. I will not say an envious mind. It might be thought indecent. But it behoves us all to guard

against so fatal a disorder as envy. Envy dies because a neighbour lives. We are told that the first son born into the world slew his brother, *because he was more righteous than himself.*

I am a stranger to the arcana of State, and do not wish to know them. I am content if nothing is kept secret from the people but what their own interest requires should be kept secret; and I have such an opinion of the wisdom and integrity of Congress that I have no suspicions of the contrary. If Mr. Deane was really saddled, as he expresses it, with a colleague, I suppose the Congress had some secret, but good reasons for thus saddling him, and these reasons may remain as secret as the grave, with all my heart. But I must own I am curious to know what Mr. Deane intended by the word he uses, *saddled*, and whether Congress in any sense did saddle him with a colleague. It is plain that by this saddle of a colleague Mr. Deane does not mean Dr. Franklin. No; he carefully shrouds his own reputation under that of the Doctor, and every now and then mentions him as his *venerable friend.* It is a thousand pities that the Doctor is so near the end of his journey thro' life, when his friendship for Mr. *Deane* and for us all will cease. We must then understand Mr. Deane refers to Arthur Lee, Esq., as the colleague with whom the Congress have saddled him. And pray, do you know the character of Mr. Lee? Will not his enemies allow that he is a man of sense and learning? Did he not take an early, decided, active, and open part in this great contest? Has he not been an invariable and consistent patriot? Were not his abilities, his integrity, his zeal, his fortitude, besides a train of other virtues, well known to Congress? Were they not well known to America in general? Will not particular States, will not the great Council of these United States, confirm all this? Did they not receive from him the most accurate and important intelligence while he was in England? Did they not invite his correspondence and pledge their confidence? Did not his

inflexible attachment to his country constrain him before he left England, to give them every information at the risque not only of private resentment, but the vengeance of that unprincipled Court? In short, did not the Congress employ Arthur Lee, Esq., as a most useful and necessary man? The honest regard I feel for so eminent a citizen will be my excuse for offering you so long a string of questions. I hope they are not impertinent. Why, then, will Mr. Deane think himself saddled with such a colleague? I have indeed heard that watchfulness is peculiarly characteristick of Mr. Lee. But surely Mr. Deane has nothing to object against a vigilant colleague. I will not insinuate it. It has been no uncommon thing in the world for a vigilant patriot to be branded by men of corrupt designs and views with the hard epithets of peevish, fretful, unsatisfiable, designing, inflammatory, and a thousand others, to extend his reputation among his countrymen. This was the game played in Britain by the King's friends, and a very successful one it was, when the Junto had compleated their execrable plan of tyranny. They practiced this method with so much art and success that, after persuading the unsuspecting, unenlightened, unthinking multitude, for so I call the people there, to explode or undervalue the best of their patriots, they ventured to affirm there was no such thing as patriotism or the love of one's country in the human heart. Even Sidney and Russel, whose memory has ever been held dear by virtuous men, have been audaciously held up by a Scotch minor, with a view of destroying the opposition made by men of the same stamp to an abandoned administration as mere pretended patriots! But the free and virtuous citizens of America will be aware of and on their guard against the contrivances of artful men to get their old, tried, and persevering friends removed from public councils and employments, and others whose political characters and attachments were exceedingly dubious but a few years ago, placed and intrusted in their room.

Mr. Deane tells us that Arthur Lee, Esq., by an

agreement among the Commissioners, went to Spain in February, 1777. I suppose then, if he went by such agreement, he was the fittest man, at least in their opinion, to go to Spain. Dr. Franklin's age would not admit of his taking a journey in so rigorous season; and it would be ill natured to suggest that Mr. Deane, for *other* reasons, was not desirous of it. But he adds "having by a wanton display of his errand given great and just cause of distrust, &c." Here I could give you a choice anecdote which I had from a gentleman who came from France, but I will defer it until there shall be occasion for it. In the mean time I wish to know of Mr. Deane in what way Mr. Lee wantonly displayed his errand, and what was the great and just cause of distrust which he gave the Court of Madrid? I ask these questions because I am not satisfied myself, nor can I find any one that is satisfied with a bare assertion, without evidence, or telling anything more about it than it was so. I flatter myself that the good people of this country will never implicitly believe what is said to the prejudice of a man, by another who appears to be very angry with him. This would be wrong indeed. *Audi alteram partem.* Hear the other side is a standing maxim of justice. Now I have been informed from good authority, I am not vain enough to say the very best, that Mr. Lee's residence in Spain was of great use to America. I believe it; others say they know it. But this leads to a slippery path, and I am unwilling to follow my brother writers on these subjects, least I should unfortunately fall, as they have done, either in the good opinion of my superiors or in the esteem of those whom I most of all reverence, the free and virtuous citizens of America. Mr. Deane prudently stopped on this ground himself, and told us we might perhaps at another time hear more from him about this and "other matters important for us to know," in a day or two he just called on us and abruptly, as I thought, took his final leave, for which he has my excuse, if it will do him any good.

Mr. Deane gives us another anecdote which he prefaces in these words. "Many reasons concurred to convince the Commissioners that Arthur Lee, Esq., could no where be *less serviceable* than in France." I shall take no notice of the mode of expression Mr. Deane chuses to make use of upon this occasion, only just to remark, that a gentleman, the best bred in his own country and acquainted with the most polished Court in Europe, might possibly have varied the words I have underlined; and I believe a man in a good temper would have varied them. But this is little to the purpose. The story is about Mr. Lee's losing his papers at Berlin, by which means the secrets of his colleagues were discovered. There, Mr. Deane says, Mr. Lee did nothing, wittily adding, "unless indeed we may give the name of business to the loss of his papers." I would again ask Mr. Deane to tell us more of this story, for I judge this is one of the "matters important for us to know" his lips "not being closed," on this occasion I would fain know the whole of the story, if I may be indulged, how Mr. Lee went to Berlin, how he was invited to dine abroad; how the British Minister in his absence broke or perhaps picked the lock of his closet door, aye, and of his trunk too and filched his papers; how Mr. Lee heard of it, and how he recovered his papers thro' the interposition of the Prussian Minister, before the thievish Briton could make the least use of them! Here I am strongly inclined to ask Mr. Deane, Whether he never heard of a gentleman's losing his papers, before or since, and whether his own papers and ours are lodged in a safer place in France, than Mr. Lee's were in Berlin? And, if he pleases, what were the secrets of his colleagues, discovered by this accident? for I presume they were no longer secrets afterwards.

Mr. Deane amuses his readers with the suspicions which some of our friends in France had entertained of Arthur Lee, Esq. He does not pretend to say whether well or ill grounded, but they were frequently related

to Dr. F. and himself, and "joined to his undisguised hatred and expressions of contempt for the French nation in general, embarrassed them exceedingly and was of no small prejudice to your affairs." The suspicion arose from his connection and acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, &c., to whom it was, from many circumstances, he disclosed your secrets. Did ever any man go farther out of his way to bring in a tale? Suppose I should go just as far and say that Dr. B. wrote a letter to the Mrs. W. D. in England, a week before the treaties were signed, informing them this would be done on the 6th of February (as it was), and advising them to conduct their money matters accordingly, would Mr. Deane or his friend admit this as a circumstance strong enough to found a suspicion that he had disclosed the secret? I fancy they would not. And yet the case would be parallel. Lord Shelburne was Mr. Lee's patron when he was in England, and Dr. B. was Mr. Deane's confident when he was in France. Let me again suppose, that Dr. F.'s friend Mr. H., not indeed a British nobleman, but a member of the British Parliament, had gone over to France, and there visited the Doctor or the Doctor had visited him, would any man but Mr. Deane imagine this to be a sufficient ground to suspect the Doctor's fidelity? I think not. If Mr. Deane had for a moment recollected himself, he would not have suffered his deep-rooted prejudice against Mr. Lee, to have so far transported him beyond the bounds of justice, as to circulate among his countrymen such an odious suspicion on so slender a foundation. But he seems to be aware that this improbable story will not stand on its own legs, and therefore he adds Mr. Lee's undisguised hatred and expressions of contempt of the French nation in general. This assertion is indeed bold, but Mr. Deane must excuse me, if I believe it a misinformation. I think myself warranted, well *warranted* to believe the contrary. Mr. Lee's private letters to his friends, which are reckoned the strongest evidence of the real sentiments of a man, I am well assured

speak the reverse. But unless Mr. Deane had *known* it to be true, wisdom and sound policy dictated silence to him; least it might prejudice our affairs in another kingdom, where it is probable Mr. Lee may at this juncture be transacting business of the greatest importance to these United States. Mr. Deane of all men should have exercised caution, because he might and doubtless did suppose and intend that what he published on these affairs should have great weight, and because he has a personal difference with Mr. Lee, and might modestly suspect himself to be prejudiced against him. There is no stopping the torrent of human passions, when once they are suffered to exceed their proper limits.

I should here close this tedious epistle; but one passage in Mr. Deane's publication occurs to me, which I must not omit taking notice of. He tells us that conjectures were formed "that is, of Mr. Lee's treachery to his country," and he adds, "with the more reason, as Mr. Lee was dragged into the treaty with the utmost reluctance." This is highly wrought indeed! Are we to understand that Mr. Lee was *dragged* into the treaty, from his hatred and contempt of the French nation? Mr. Deane may insinuate this, but I presume he will not say it in plain language. Will he say Mr. Lee was from any principles or motives averse to an alliance with France? He will not. Will he say Mr. Lee was not *solicitous* to have such an alliance formed upon reciprocal terms? I think he will not say so. What impressions then did he intend to fix on the minds of the free and virtuous citizens of America, and probably those of the gentlemen of France too? If Mr. Lee excepted against one or two articles because he thought they were not on equal terms; if he was at length prevailed on to sign such articles in the treaty with any degree of reluctance, it showed his fidelity and care; and a candid man never would insinuate that he was averse to *any* alliance with France, because he hated and despised that nation, perhaps Mr. Lee's constituents may approve of his conduct and the reasons of it. But

prudence whispers in my ear; I will lay down my pen for the present.

A REPUBLICAN.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 16, 1779.

THOMAS PAINE'S CORRECTIONS.

TO MR. DEANE.—I discovered the mistake respecting the Mercury too late to correct it; but as it was a circumstance no ways interested with the matter in question, I omitted doing it till I could get the particulars when and where she arrived, and wrote to a gentleman for that information, it being a branch that does not belong to this office. You have corrected it for me, and affixed to it the name of a "*falsehood.*" As whatever is not *true* must be *false*, however immaterial, therefore you have a right to give it that name.

I was somewhat curious to see what use you would make of it; for if you picked that out from all the rest, it would show that you were very hard set, notwithstanding my reply has been extensive and my allegations numerous.

Having thus submitted to be set right by Mr. Deane, I hope he will submit to be set right by me. I have never *laboured to prove* that the supplies *were* or *are* a present. On the contrary, I believe we are got too fond of buying and selling, to receive a *present* for the *public* when there is nothing to be got by it ourselves. The agent's profit is to purchase, not to receive.

That there was a disposition in the gentlemen of France to have made America a very handsome present, is what I have a justifyable authority for saying; and I was unwilling these gentlemen should lose the honour of their good intentions, by Mr. Deane's monopolizing the whole merit of *procuring* these supplies to himself. Though I am certain that no man, not even an enemy, will accuse me of personal covetousness, yet I have a great deal of what may be called public covetousness,

and from that motive, among others, I sincerely wish Mr. Deane had never gone to France.

Mr. Plain Truth speaks of Mr. Deane as if he had discovered a mine from whence he drew those stores, which nobody before knew of; whereas he received information of it from this city. "*We make no doubt but you have been made acquainted with the negociations of M. H.—, and in consequence thereof we conclude that you will be at no loss.*" In short, Sir, the matter was in France before you were there, and your giving out any other story is wandering from the fact. I can trace it myself to the 21st of December, 1775, and that not as some have supposed, a national or Court affair, but a private though extensive act of friendship.

COMMON SENSE.

January 15, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 16, 1779.

LYSANDER ON THE CONTROVERSY.

To the FREEMEN of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

Friends and Countrymen,—It falls to the lot of but very few to partake in the councils of this new Empire, and yet the various Governments we have established call upon every Freeman, either mediately or immediately, to act a part; for the due performance of which he ought to have every information, the disclosure of which will not expose the public interests to great and eminent danger. It is therefore become highly necessary that the notes and minutes of Congress, except those which relate to military operations, or in some extraordinary case, should be published weekly at least. It is now above two years since the last volume of minutes was published, and whatever confidence we may repose in the wisdom and virtue of Congress, I am one of those who think the liberties or peace of any country cannot long exist, if the ruling powers either wilfully or negligently keep the people ignorant of their

proceedings. Should a spirit of party and private animosity ever enter those walls, where the language of patriotism and public integrity should alone be heard, nothing will be so likely to extinguish it, as to remove from the scene of action the zealots of every party. But how can this be done if week after week, month after month, and year after year, is to roll on, and the proceedings of Congress and conduct of the Members in many important points are as unknown to their constituents as the edicts of the Great Mogul? I am so fully persuaded, and every man who lives in this city the least conversant with public affairs I think will be of the same opinion, that under proper regulations, a frequent publication of the proceedings of Congress will have a happy effect, that I trust if longer delayed every State will demand it. And it seems the more necessary as the press may not in future handle public transactions with the same freedom it has done. And now Messrs. Deane, Common Sense, Plain Truth, Senex &c., as you all profess a genuine regard for the public good, you must by this time be fully sensible how unprofitable it is to enter the lists of political controversy with such personal acrimony, and how little either has gained. Assertion has been met with assertion, and plain facts opposed to plain facts, till the candid mind perplexed, vexed with the shifting scene, and unknowing where to fix, yields with unsatisfied curiosity to the unpleasant sensation of feeling the public interests materially injured by the effect, without knowing how to apportion the blame. It will teach us, however, one useful lesson, and now it is the only benefit we can derive from the transaction, that the servants of the public (for such they all are, however dignified their stations) will learn how dangerous it is upon real or supposed injuries to complain to the world, and gratify their private feelings at the expence of national interest; for we may truly say as the frogs in the fable, though it may be sport to them, it is death to us. LYSANDER.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 19, 1779.

Defence of Deane by Philalethes.

To the respectable Public of America.

Quod verum atque deceus curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum.—Hor.

The person who now addresses you has had the honor of serving his country in the field since the commencement of the present war. Whilst he labored to establish the independence of these States, he studied to preserve his own as a citizen, and to execute with fidelity the trust reposed in him. How far his endeavors have succeeded, he is willing to submit to the opinion of those with whom he has had the honor of serving. Thus much he has thought it necessary to say of himself; to say more, however allowable it might be deemed in a *profest writer*, would be certainly unjustifiable in one whose sole object is to undeceive the public on a point of great *national importance.*

So long as the publications which appeared in consequence of Mr. Deane's first address to his countrymen, were conceived by some to be more of a personal than of a general concern, he avoided appearing on the public stage, he confesses, not without extreme pain; because his acquaintance with gentlemen of veracity in a public character had impressed him with a strong idea of Mr. Deane's political merit. But since Mr. Payne, not contented with assassinating the reputation of individuals, has thought proper to assume the title of *Secretary for foreign Affairs* (which he has no pretensions to either in *form* or *substance*), and to aim a bold stab at the honor and veracity of the great and illustrious Ally of these States, by laboring to prove "that the military supplies sent over to America were a *national* and not a *commercial* concern, and *that it was offered as a present before Mr. Deane's arrival in France*," he has esteem'd it his duty to furnish not only the public of America, but all Europe (whose attention must be awakened by so extraordinary an assertion), with indisputable proof that what this writer asserts is totally *destitute of truth.*

This will be best effected by laying before the public the following letter to Congress from Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais (the principal concerned in furnishing those supplies), dated Paris, 23d March, 1778, and supported by the *attested correspondence* which past betwixt Arthur Lee Esq. (then in London) under the fictitious name of Mary Johnston, and Mons. de Beaumarchais; all which letters were laid before Congress in August last. Attested copies of this correspondence are in the hands of the writer.

To the Honorable Gentlemen MEMBERS *of the* GENERAL CONGRESS.

Paris March 23d 1778.

GENTLEMEN,—After congratulating my country and yours on the noble and beneficial alliance which France has contracted with America, I owe to truth, to Mr. Deane's honor, and my own, the following declaration, which I have prayed him to deliver you.

Although I am not known to you gentlemen but under the name of Roderique Hortalez, which is the signature chosen by me to cover to this time my commercial operations with you, my name is Caron de Beaumarchais. Long before the arrival of Mr. Deane in France, I had formed the project of establishing a commercial house sufficiently powerful and spirited to hazard the risques of the sea and enemy, in carrying you stores and merchandize for the equipment of your troops, of which I learned you were in great want.

I spoke of this plan in London to Mr. Arthur Lee, and not only inquired of him if he had any means for establishing this commerce between you and me, but I wrote to him from France that if he could give me assurances that the remittances from your continent should be made in season to pay for what I sent out, and to supply me with new means to serve you again, I could probably animate some of my rich friends, and unite them with me in establishing a commerce with you. Mr. Lee answered that remittances in tobacco

would, if I demanded prompt payment, cause a delay in my operations; but he urged me in the mean time to send out incessantly my stores and merchandize. I replied, that, having addressed myself to persons in power to enter secretly into my views by making considerable advances without success, I had set myself simply to form a commercial Company, which would join me in these expeditions, on condition that the earliest remittances should be made on the part of America. Mr. Lee having returned no answer to my letter, I labored alone, gentlemen, to form this Company until the arrival of Mr. Deane in France. From that time I corresponded with no other on the subject.

I entered into a serious conference with him alone, and the pains which he took jointly with me, his powers which he communicated, the invoices which he furnished me with, and his urgent demand for merchandize and warlike stores, and his repeated promises of the most prompt and speedy payment, finally determined my friends to trust me with funds sufficiently for my first outfits. It was with him only that I treated of your affairs, and he, acting solely in your name, went thro' the labors necessary to remove the difficulties which presented themselves from every quarter; *and but for the confidence I had in his promisses, I should most probably never have succeeded in giving existence to that enterprize, which, before his arrival, was but a doubtful and uncertain project.*

Though the remittances he engaged in your name did not arrive in the time he promised, and though we have thereby been greatly embarrassed, we have never reproached him therewith, for we saw he was more afflicted thereby than we were ourselves. *But I must assure you, gentlemen, that but for the incessant pains which he took to support our confidence against the slowness of remittances, I should have had the mortification of finding myself forced by my friends to abandon an enterprize which presented dangers only, with scarce the hope of benefit.* In conversing on the State of the

forces of America, I recollected that Mr. Arthur Lee, in his letters, had insisted that I should use my utmost efforts to send out officers, engineers, and ships. I advised with Mr. Deane, who dared not to take on him to chuse officers and send them out by my first ships. Some days after, having found means to *purchase artillery for you from the arsenals out of the surplus of the ordinary service*, I again advised him to join engineers and officers of artillery, who should accompany that I was sending out. I did this with the greater confidence, as I had before my eyes Mr. Lee's letter, in which was this expression, "*How would you have America resist England if you do not send out officers, engineers, and men of war, &c.?*" The last was not in the power of a commercial company, and I contented myself with laboring to procure the others. These, gentlemen, are the true motives which determined him and me to send out officers to you. As I have known no other person but Mr. Deane, and as my house have never transacted in this affair with *any other person* in France, the other deputies scarcely shewing me the most common marks of civility, I assure you that if my zeal, my advances of money, my cargoes of stores and merchandize, have been acceptable to the Hon. Congress, *their gratitude on this occasion is due to the indefatigable pains which Mr. Deane has taken thro' the whole of this commercial transaction.* I trust that the Hon. Congress, rejecting every insinuation by which other persons would take to themselves the honor of the success of our affairs, will rely on the present declaration of a person who is best able to give information, and who subscribes himself with respect.

Gentlemen, Your most humble and most obedient servant for himself and Company,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Known in America for commercial purposes by the name of Roderique Hortalez, and Company.

MR. HORTALEZ,—Be persuaded that Mr. Le Compte

cannot in any manner embarass you. I pray you to consider in your arrangements at the Cape, *that the want of tobacco ought not to hinder your sending out your supplies to the Americans, for tobacco is so weighty an article that it will greatly impede the sailing of the ships*, and the essential object is to maintain the war.

MARY JOHNSTON.

May 23, 1776.

Answer to the above Letter.

M. JOHNSTON,—I received your letter of the 23d May. I will perform my promises *in the way I pointed out.* I am about to send to Cape Francois, in the island of St. Domingo, a ship loaded with merchandize, to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, besides cannon, powder, and stores; but this last article will arrive but in small parcels on account of the risque. *On your part, do not fail to send a ship loaded with good Virginia tobacco, and let your friend send in the ship an intelligent, discreet, and faithful person with power to receive the money or merchandize and powder, and to make the remittances in tobacco, which I can no more do without than your Friend can without what I send to him;* in a word, let him *give his notes* to my house for what he shall not be able to pay in tobacco, and make certain or solid arrangements with my Agent at the Cape for the future.

The Captain, on his arrival at the Cape, must inquire of the first Magistrate, who is the merchant entrusted with the affairs of Roderique Hortalez and Co., and he will introduce him to the correspondent of your humble servant.

Second LETTER of MARY JOHNSTON, 14th June.

SIR,—I have but one moment to thank you in for your letter of the 6th of June, which I received safe this moment. *I will do my utmost to answer your wishes,*

but I advise you, and advise my friends, to consider always that the communication of sentiments is difficult, and for that reason we ought to do all in our power, *without insisting on a certain and immediate return.*

Another LETTER of MR. LEE, under the name of Mary Johnston, 21st June, 1776. In CYPHERS.

The army of England in America consists of forty thousand men, and their fleet of one hundred ships, of which but two are of seventy-four guns. Their officers, both by sea and land, and engineers are good; they are well supplied with artillery and stores. Consider then, Sir, how difficult it will be for the Americans to resist such forces *if they are not assisted by France with officers, engineers, and large ships of war.* You may send them out without the least risque. Ten French ships of war dispatched secretly, and to the Cape or Martinico, and joined with the American fleet, might scour the American Coast and destroy the whole English fleet, dispersed as it is at present. On which the land army, deprived of succour, would be easily defeated. And by this stroke the English Marine would be mortally wounded. Do you fear that this will kindle a war between the two nations? But how will England be able to support a war without fleets, without colonies, without seamen, and without resources? On the contrary, if you suffer America to fall again under the dominion of England, the latter will forever be invincible. Adieu.

Decypherment of my LETTER to Mary Johnston, 12th June, 1776.

I refer you to my former letter of the 6th of June, *of which I pray you to follow the disposition.*

The difficulties which I have met with in my negociation with the Minister have made me take the resolution of forming a company which shall send out the supplies of powder and stores to your friend, depending in the

mean time on remittances in tobacco at Cape Francois, and always under the name of your servants,

RODERIQUE HORTALEZ and Co.

The whole tenor of these letters prove two points which Mr. Payne has been assiduously laboring in his late publication to contradict; the first, that these supplies were of a *commercial nature;* the second, that this country owes much to Mr. Deane for his indefatigable services in procuring them. Little or no remittances being sent from America, the house of Roderique Hortalez and Company sent over Mr. Francy, their Agent (now in this city), to lay before Congress a state of that company's accounts, and to ascertain the mode of payment. He arrived at York-Town during the course of last winter, and I am authorized to say from good authority that an engagement was then entered into with him by Congress *acknowledging the debt* in behalf of these States, with a promise of interest till the day of payment. This solemn public act proves demonstratively in what *light* these supplies were considered by Congress. Till Mr. Payne can produce as strong proofs in support of his wild assertion, as I have in contradiction of it (which I know he cannot) any insinuations which he may throw out, or suspicions which may operate on his mind, are of no avail.

As the object of this publication is to inform my countrymen on a point of great importance to the interest of these States, which depends much on a continuation of harmony betwixt them and their allies, I shall not at present follow Mr. Payne in the extravagancies he has thrown out in all his publications, but shall content myself with a remark, which strikes me forcibly, and which I beg leave to press home on the consideration of the public.

If this writer and those who do not blush to support him (for some I am afraid there must be in high station) will, in order to effect their purpose of blasting Mr. Deane's character as a public Minister, boldly assert a

most *notorious untruth* at the hazard of the interest of these States, and of the honor of a great and good Prince, to whom this country owes much, what can be expected they will not assert to effect their end, when unrestrained by less powerful considerations? Let us consider for a moment the nature and probable consequence of Mr. Payne's assertion. The King of France founds his right of entering into a treaty of commerce and defensive alliance with these States upon this principle, "that we were *in full possession of independence in consequence of our own efforts*." During the contest he has solemnly protested to the British Court, that no supplies were furnished to America by the French Government; and that whatever aids merchants (who in all States will risque where there is a prospect of profit) might have sent to America, France has sacredly observed her treaties with Great-Britain. He was justified in making this declaration, and yet Mr. Payne under a *self created title* modestly undertakes to impeach the *honor and veracity of this Prince*, and that without any *proof* or *public ground of suspicion*. What can be his motives for so extraordinary an assertion I will not pretend to fathom; but I cannot help observing, that the very same person who though in a *public* character thought proper to advocate in a *public* paper the character of Dr. Berkenhout, at *a time when he was notoriously known to have been an emissary from the enemy, has, under an assumed title of office* (which in Europe will be considered of the first importance), furnished the King of Great-Britain with a specious plea of impeaching the honor and veracity of our great and generous ally.

Was this writer retained in the *pay of Great-Britain*, instead of *these States*, could he have promoted the views of the enemy more effectually than he has done by these two acts? Certainly not; having thus proved that Mr. Payne, in order to give greater weight to his assertions, has *usurped a title, which he is conscious does not belong to him*, and that under *the sanction of this*

character, he has asserted a falsehood of the most dangerous nature. The public will be apt to enquire, what punishment does he deserve? Happily this writer has furnished us with his ideas on this matter. In his address to the public, under the signature of Thomas Payne, &c., he says, "there is a premeditated baseness lurking somewhere, and it ought to be detected. Either the one or the other are deceiving you. If on my part, you have a right to resent it as you please, and even the good I have ever rendered, so far from becoming my excuse, ought to provoke you the more. I have either disturbed a viperous nest, or deserve to be thrown into one myself." Mr. Payne has himself enacted the law; I have proved him guilty under it. It depends on the mere mercy of the public whether the sentence shall be carried into execution.

PHILALETHES.

P. S. The above publication was sent to the Printer previous to his receiving the resolutions of Congress, disavowing Mr. Payne's assertion relative to the supplies sent from France. But as the public may wish to be informed of the grounds on which the resolution of Congress were founded, the writer has thought proper to furnish them with the evidence which he has obtained on this point.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 19, 1779.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 20th January, 1779.

SIR,—When I had the honor of waiting on Congress, you were pleased to inform me that if Congress had any further commands for me, I should be notified thereof. Not having received any notice from you on the subject, I take the liberty to inform you that my affairs are become so pressing and so peculiarly circumstanced, that it is impossible for me to attend longer

without doing greater prejudice to myself and interest than I am able to sustain. I must, therefore, request of you to remind Congress of my situation, and that you will inform me of their determination respecting me.

I have the honor to be, with sincere respect, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 180.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Wednesday, January 20, 1779. A letter of this day from Mr. S. Deane was read; whereupon,

Resolved, That a Committee, consisting of one member from each state, be appointed to take into consideration the foreign affairs of these United States, and also the conduct of the late and present commissioners of these States in Europe, and report thereon.

The members chosen, Mr. Whipple, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Duane, Mr. Fell, Mr. Searle, Mr. McKean, Mr. Paca, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Burke, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Langworthy.

Journals of Congress.

THOMAS PAINE'S REPLY TO PHILALETHES.

For the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

To PHILALETHES,—The thanks of the public will, no doubt, be given to you when you shall be found to deserve them. But be you who you may, I have this to say to you, that, if you have reputation enough left to be ashamed of being detected in a falsehood, you will do yourself a service by assuring Common Sense that you will correct and amend what you have published in last Saturday's paper, or it will be done for you.

Having said this much to you particularly, I shall conclude with a story, which, I hope, will not be found

applicable to Mr. Deane's affairs, or those of his partners. If it should, it will explain the reason why he or they are so stubbornly defended.

A man was taken up in Ireland, for robbing the Treasury, and sent for a Lawyer to undertake his case. The man protested his *innocence*, and the Lawyer shook his head. I hope, Sir, said the man, that you are not sorry because I am not guilty? No, Sir, replied the Lawyer, but I am very much concerned at your situation; yet, if you will attend to my advice, I can afford you some hope, for the case stands thus: If you *have* robbed the Treasury, you will not be hanged; but if you have *not* robbed it, the circumstances are so strong against you that you must expect to suffer. Sir, said the man, I have money enough to bribe the ——. Oh, my dear, good friend, replied the Lawyer, shaking him by the hand, take care what you say. I understand your case exceedingly well; 'tis a very clear one, and you may depend upon being honorably acquitted.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 20.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 21, 1779.

REPLY TO THOMAS PAINE BY PHILALETHES.

To the RESPECTABLE PUBLIC of AMERICA,

On the veracity of COMMON SENSE.

When I first addressed the Public I had determined not to follow Mr. Common Sense into those mazes of falsehood which meander through all his productions; thinking it sufficient to point out clearly to the plainest of my readers, that this writer had labored to impose on the public opinion a falsehood of the most dangerous tendency to the safety of these States, and of the honor of our allies. But as he has had the confidence, in his late answer to Mr. Deane, *positively* to

deny what he has as *positively asserted* in his *former papers*, and to impute the mentioning of *one* falsehood to the impossibility of detecting him in *others*, I have thought it my duty to communicate to my Countrymen the result of a minute investigation into the principal assertions of this author. I am the more induced to do this, because it is not improbable that this meteor will again appear in our hemisphere under a different name, and it is of importance to determine, whether he ought to be considered as a friendly planet sent to invigorate and enlighten, or as an angry comet destined to confound, and perhaps consume, our political system.

For the benefit of the plainest of my readers, I will mark the principal falsehoods, as they occur in the different publications, and annex the detection.

Falsehood 1st. In Mr. Common Sense's first address to the Public on Mr. Deane's affair, he says he is "familiarly acquainted with Mr. Deane's differences with his *colleagues*."

Detection. Mr. Deane's colleagues were Arthur Lee, Esq., and Dr. Benjamin Franklin ; that Mr. Deane had no difference with the gentleman last mentioned, the following letter will prove beyond the possibility of doubt.

Passy, near Paris, March 31st, 1778.

Sir,—My colleague Mr. Deane being recalled by Congress, and no reasons given that have yet appeared here, it is apprehended to be the effect of some misrepresentation from an enemy or two at Paris and at Nantes. I have no doubt that he will be able clearly to justify himself; but having lived *intimately* with him now fifteen months (the *greatest part of the time in the same house*), and been a constant witness of his public conduct, I cannot omit giving this testimony, tho' unasked, in his behalf, that I esteem him a *faithful, active* and *able minister*, who to my knowledge has done in various ways great and important services to his country, whose interests I wish may always be by everyone

in her employ, as much and as effectually promoted. With my dutiful respect to the Congress,

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Honorable Henry Laurens, Esq.,
President of Congress.

Falsehood 2d. The writer says "that Mr. Deane was ordered home to give an account of his own conduct, and that the reasons for so doing were the intricacy of Mr. Deane's own official affairs, his multiplied contracts in France before the arrival of Dr. Franklin, or any of the other Commissioners. His assuming authorities and entering into engagements in the time of his commercial agency, for which he had neither commission or instruction, and the general unsettled state of his accounts."

Detection. The resolution of Congress of December 8th, 1777, for recalling Mr. Deane, transmitted to him by Mr. Lovell (acting as chairman to the Committee of foreign affairs), and a letter from the same gentleman in answer to one from Dr. Franklin, prove incontestably that the motives for Mr. Deane's recall are not truly stated.

The resolution of Congress is in the words following (to wit):

Whereas it is of the greatest importance that Congress should at this critical conjuncture be well informed of the state of affairs in Europe, and whereas Congress have resolved, that the honorable Silas Deane, Esq., be recalled from the Court of France, and have appointed another Commissioner to supply his place there,

Ordered, That the Committee for foreign affairs write to the honorable Silas Deane, and direct him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible dispatch to Congress.

The letter from James Lovell, Esq., to Dr. Franklin is in the words following (to wit):

York-Town, May 15th, 1778.

Sir,—Your favor of December 21st I read in Congress that it might have the operation which you benevolently, generously, and honorably intended; but really, Sir, when you say you perceive he (Mr. D.) *has enemies*, I am not inclined to determine that you form your opinion upon the proceedings of Congress alone, to which you refer in the beginning of your letter. You can have no adequate idea of the *bold claims* and even *threats* which were made against Congress, *inducing the necessity of disavowing Mr. Deane's agreements*, and the consequent *more disagreeable necessity* of recalling him. You will have seen by past letters of the committee how formidable some have thought the enmity of disappointed foreign officers would prove both to Mr. Deane and to these States. That gentleman's embarrassments have always been considered as apologies for his compliances, and *you may rely upon it that imagined if not real necessity alone has governed the decision of Congress with respect to him, and that he will find he commands general regard for the manner in which he has conducted our affairs abroad.* He is exceedingly wanted here to explain some things, especially the connection with Mr. Beaumarchais, and in my opinion he may return with renewed honor in commission to Holland.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

Honorable Dr. Franklin.

N. B. This letter was published in a piece signed Plain Truth, but the initials of the writer's name being only mentioned, many persons by mistaking who was meant by them lost the force of the evidence.

Falsehood 3d. Mr. Payne says that Henry Laurens,

Esq., the late President, resigned the chair in October last, and "*was replaced by a unanimous vote*," and "that he mentions this for the benefit of succeeding generations."

Detection. The Journals of Congress will prove that there was no election gone into, and consequently there could not be an *unanimous vote.* The fact is thus: Mr. Laurens expressed in October last a wish to resign the chair, but on account of the thinness of the house, and a declaration of some of the members that they had not then in their eye a character which they deemed suitable for the chair, a desire was express'd that he should continue in it some time longer, *in which he acquiesced,* so that whatever advantage this writer meant to derive to posterity from this anecdote is entirely lost.

Falsehood 4th. Mr. Payne, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 29th December last, signs himself Secretary for foreign affairs. The resolution of Congress appointing him to his office proves that he has no pretensions to this title; it therefore becomes necessary to insert it, that his falsehoods may not have that sanction in Europe which he probably intended to derive from the use of it.

Detection. In CONGRESS, April 7th, 1777.

Resolved, That the stile of the Committee of secret correspondence be altered, and that for the future it be stiled the Committee of foreign affairs.

That a *Secretary be appointed to the said Committee,* with a salary of seventy dollars per month; the Ballots being taken, Mr. Thomas Payne was elected. From this it appears that Mr. Payne is Secretary to the *committee of foreign affairs,* and not Secretary for foreign affairs, as he has been pleased to dub himself.

Falsehood 5th. Mr. Payne says, "that in the hands of the Committee of foreign affairs, or rather in *his,* are lodged all Mr. Deane's political correspondence, and that of the other commissioners."

Detection. The fact is not so, nor have they been in

the hands either of the Committee or of the Secretary, since they were ordered to be delivered into Congress on the 13th of August, as will appear from the following resolution of Congress (to wit):

In *Congress*, August 13th, 1778.

Ordered, "That the Committee of foreign affairs lay before Congress on Friday all letters and other public papers which they have received from the Commissioners, Agents, or other persons, who have transacted business for the United States in Europe, from the original appointment of the Committee of secret correspondence to this day."

This order was complied with on the 14th August, and the papers have since been in the care of the Secretary of Congress.

Falsehood 6th. Mr. Payne says, "That he has several times repeated, and he again repeats it, that his whole design in taking this matter up was, and is, to *prevent the Public being imposed on.*"

Detection. The number of falsehoods proved on this writer draws this assertion into the same predicament.

Falsehood 7. The writer says, "That Mr. Deane has declared he left his papers and accounts behind him."

Detection. Mr. Deane has never declared any such thing; for he has long since laid before Congress a general account of all the receipts and expenditures of public money which passed either through his own hands, or that of the Commissioners in Europe.

Falsehood 8th. Mr. Common Sense observes, "that by all accounts, which have been given both by Mr. Deane's friends and myself, *we all agree in this, that Mr. Deane knew of the resolution of Congress before he published his address*, and situated as he was he could not help knowing it two or three days before his address came out."

Detection. If this writer means that Mr. Deane was acquainted with the resolution of Congress, fixing a

certain day for his being heard, previous to his publication, he certainly was not; as will appear by the resolution of Congress passed on the very day on which his first address was published, and is as follows.

In Congress, December 5th, 1778.

A letter of the 4th from Silas Deane was read.

Ordered, That Monday evening be assigned for hearing Mr. Deane, and that he be notified to attend.

If he means the resolutions of Congress of December 1st, which is in the following words, viz.

In Congress, December 1st, 1778.

Resolved, "That after to-morrow Congress will meet two hours at least each evening, beginning at six o'clock (Saturday evenings excepted) until the present state of their foreign affairs be fully considered," he is no better off; for not even this resolution, which does not so much as mention Mr. Deane's name, was ever communicated to him. On the 4th of December in the morning he received a letter from Henry Laurens, Esq., the late President, dated 3d December, 10 o'clock at night, in which he informs him, "that Congress having resolved to take into consideration, as on that evening, the state of their foreign affairs, such branches as Mr. Deane had been particularly concerned in would in due *course* become subjects of deliberation, without any *avoidable* or *unnecessary* delay." Mr. Deane on the 4th December answers this letter, and observed, "that in the intimation given him, he did not find any time fixed for his attendance." The order for his attendance on the 5th December was passed in consequence of Mr. Deane's letter of the 4th, as appears by the above quoted extract from the Journals of Congress. Neither Mr. Deane or any of his friends ever agreed in the point which Common Sense asserts they have.

Falsehood 9th. Mr. Common Sense says "that Mr.

Deane was sent to France in the spring as a commercial Agent, under the authority of the Committee for foreign affairs, he had no commission of *any kind* from Congress; and his instructions were to assume no other character than that of a merchant."

Detection. Mr. Deane was sent to France as a *political* and commercial Agent; he had a commission of *some kind* from Congress, because he had a commission signed by a Committee, authorised by Congress for such purpose. His instructions were not "to assume no other character than that of a merchant," in the sense this writer means to convey, but to conceal his political character under that of a merchant.

Mr. Deane's commission from the Committee of Congress and an extract of their instructions will prove what I say. The form of Mr. Deane's first commission is,

WE the underwritten being the Committee of Congress for secret correspondence, do hereby certify whom it may concern, that the bearer Mr. Silas Deane is appointed by us to go into France, there to transact such business *commercial and political* as we have committed to his care, *in behalf and by authority of the Thirteen United Colonies.* In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Philadelphia this 2d day of March, 1776.

Signed B. Franklin,
B. Harrison,
John Dickinson,
Robert Morris,
John Jay.

The extract from Mr. Deane's instructions is as follows:—"On your arrival in France you will for some little time be engaged in the business of providing goods for the Indian trade. *This will give good countenance to your appearing in the character of a merchant,* which we wish you continually to retain among the French in general, it being probable that

the Court of France may *not like it should be known publicly that any agent from the Colonies is in that country.*"

Falsehood 10th. Speaking of the supplies sent to America as a present from France, Mr. Payne says, "It was immediately on the discovery of this affair by the enemy fifteen months ago, that the ministry began to change their ground and planned their conciliatory bills, &c.; they got possession of this secret, by stealing the dispatches of October, 1777."

Detection. The dispatches referred to contained no such secret as is here pretended, and though the Commissioners Carlisle and Co. pretend that the conciliatory bills were planned before the resolution of France to come into the treaty, yet the King of Great Britain's speech in November, and the language of Lord North and the rest of the Ministers till after the holidays give the direct lie to the Commissioners, as well as to Mr. Payne, who either labors here to help them out or himself into their company. This was clearly shown in a publication which appeared a few months since in Mr. Dunlap's paper under the signature of W. H. D.

Falsehood 11th. Speaking again of the supplies he says, "that the supplies which he (Mr. D.) so pompously plumes himself upon, were *promised* and *engaged* and that as a present before he even arrived in France."

Detection. In my last publication I laid before the public evidence to refute this assertion; this evidence is confirmed by an unanimous resolution of Congress of the 12th January instant, which is as follows.

In Congress, January 12th, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the publications in the Pennsylvania Packet on the 2d and 5th instant, under the title of "Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane's affair," of which Mr. T. Payne, Secretary to the Committee for foreign affairs, has acknowledged himself to be the author, and also the

memorials of the Minister Plenipotentiary of France of the 5th and 10th instant, respecting the said publications. Whereupon,

Resolved unanimously, That in answer to the memorials of the honorable Sieur Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty, of the 5th and 10th instant, the President be directed to assure the said Minister that Congress do fully, in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publications referred to in his said memorials; and as they are convinced by indisputable evidence that the supplies shipt in the Amphitrite, Seine and Mercury were not a present, and that His Most Christian Majesty, the great and generous ally of these United States, did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatever sent to America, so they have not authorised the writer of the said publications to make any such assertions as are contained therein, but on the contrary do highly disapprove the same.

Extract from the Minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Falsehood 12th. Mr. Common Sense says, "his address to Mr. Deane (meaning his first address) was not only *moderate but civil.*

Detection. The following quotations from this address (being a few out of many such) prove the contrary to be true.

Speaking of Mr. Deane, he says, "there is a certain and necessary association of dignity between the person and employment which perhaps did not appear when Mr. Deane was considered the Ambassador. His address to the public confirms the justice of this remark." Is this civil? He says, "that Col. Richard Henry Lee has one defect which perhaps Mr. Deane is acquainted with, the misfortune of having but one hand," the obvious inuendo of which is that Mr. Deane's was a cowardly attack. Is this either *moderate* or *civil?*

Falsehood 13th. This writer says, "that so unfortunate were the supplies that only one ship out of the three arrived; the Mercury and Seine fell into the hands of the enemy."

Detection. Mr. Deane has informed the public on the 14th instant, "that there were eight vessels which brought the supplies, and that only one (the Seine) fell into the hands of the enemy." This is confirmed by the following certificate of Monsieur de Francy (now in the city), Representative of the house of Roderique Hortalez and Co., who shipt the supplies.

The military and other stores shipped by Roderique Hortalez and Co. in consequence of the contract made with them by Silas Deane, Esq., Agent for the United States of America, were shipped on board eight vessels, all of which sailed from France for America; the names of the ships were as follows: the Amphitrite, the Mercure, the Seine, the Therese, the Marie Catherine, the Amelie, the Mere Boobie and the Flamand, of which ships the Seine only fell into the hands of the enemy, and that after landing a principal part of her cargo in Martinico in the care of Mr. Bingham, Agent for Congress.

Certified at Philadelphia, this 13th January, 1779.

I. de FRANCY, representing the house of Roderique Hortalez and Co.

Falsehood 14th. Mr. Common Sense says, That the Marquis de la Fayette not coming from France till after the arrival of the additional Commissioners proves his former assertion to be true, which was that the officers sent over by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee were of a different rank from the generality of those with whom Mr. Deane contracted when alone.

Detection. It does not prove it to be true. For though the Marquis left France after the arrival of Dr. Franklin, it was in consequence of an agreement with Mr. Deane long before Dr. Franklin or Mr. A. Lee arrived in France. The Marquis saw Dr. Frank-

lin but once, and then said nothing to him of his design; Mr. Lee he never saw at all.

Falsehood 15th. Mr. Common Sense, inveighing against Mr. Deane's agreements with foreign officers, says, "That what renders his conduct more unpardonable is, that by the instructions he took with him he was restricted from making them."

Detection. I am warranted in saying there is no such restriction in Mr. Deane's instructions. If there is, let the writer produce it.

Falsehood 16th. "Mr. Deane was engaged by the Committee which employed him to engage four able engineers."

Detection. Mr. Deane had no such instruction.

Falsehood 17th. "After the declaration of independence was passed, Mr. Deane considered it a great hardship that he was not authorised to announce it in form to the Court of France," says Common Sense.

Detection. The following extract of a letter written by order of Congress, July 8th, 1776, brings this assertion of Mr. Payne's under the same predicament with the others.

"SILAS DEANE, Esquire.

"SIR,—With this you will receive the Declaration of the Congress for a final separation with Great-Britain. It was the universal demand of the people, justly exasperated by the obstinate perseverance of the Crown in its tyrannical and destructive measures, and the Congress were very unanimous in complying with that demand. You will immediately communicate this piece to the Court of France, and send copies of it to the Courts of Europe.

"It is probable that in a few days instructions will be formed in Congress directing you to treat with France on the subject of mutual commerce between her and these States."

N. B. The declaration was made the 4th of July, 1776, and Dr. Franklin left America in the month of

October following, and arrived in France some time in December after.

Falsehood 18th. Mr. Common Sense, speaking of Mr. William Lee, says, "He has vacated his Aldermanship by accepting an appointment under Congress, and can know nothing farther of the matter."

Detection. The following letter from Mr. Cutler, a young gentleman of good character, not long since arrived at Boston from Nantes in France, shews that Mr. William Lee has not vacated his Aldermanship, and that it is probable he thinks further of it than his advocate Mr. Payne imagines.

The letter is as follows, viz. :

Boston, Nov. 21st, 1778.

Sir,—Agreeable to Mr. William's desire, I have to inform you, that I have arrived from France with his accounts to lay before Congress, with a letter and other papers to them, and two letters for you which I am to deliver to you : that honor I shall do myself as soon as the weather will permit.

At the time I left France (the 28th September) it was credibly reported that William Lee, Esq., *then Alderman of London*, had wrote his friends there that *he should not resign his gown*, as he intended to *return* and *take it up again*, and convince the world that he had, while in the service of America, been acting for the *good of England*, as well as the United States.

I am, with great respect, Sir, your humble servant,

Samuel Cutler.

Hon. Silas Deane, Esq.

Falsehood 19th. I have never labored to prove that the supplies *were* or are a *present.*

Detection. As some poisons are said to be antidotes to others, so a falsehood which has been before quoted will prove this assertion not true.

In Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 2d January, Mr. Common Sense says, The supplies which he (Mr. D.) so

pompously plumes himself upon, *were* promised and engaged, and that as a *present*, before he even arrived in France.

Falsehood 20th. Speaking on the same subject, Mr. Common Sense says, "I can trace it myself to the 21st December, 1775, and that not, as some have supposed, a *national*, or Court affair, but a private though extensive act of friendship."

Detection. The following out of the many paragraphs to the like purport in this writer's publications will prove that he affected to suppose the supplies were a national affair, and that he attempted to impose this belief on the public.

In Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 2d January, when he ushers in his remarks upon the supplies, he says, "If any late or present member of Congress has been concerned in writing this piece, I think it necessary to tell him that he either knows very little of the state of foreign affairs, or ought to blush in thus attempting to rob a *friendly nation, France, of her honors*, to bestow them on a man who so little deserves them."

In the same paper he says on the same subject, "It is, I confess, *a nice point* to touch upon; but the necessity of undeceiving the public with respect to Mr. Deane, and the right they have to know the *early friendship of the French nation* towards them at the time of their greatest wants, will justify my doing it."

Speaking on the same subject he says, "To be insensible of a favor which has before now been practised *between nations* would have implied a want of just conceptions."

I shall not tire my readers with more quotations. The proofs are clear.

Thus I have in a plain manner furnished the public with indisputable evidence of at least twenty palpable aberrations from truth in this excentric writer. If the Printer had not objected to inserting long publications, I could have detected him in at least ten more falsehoods or gross misrepresentations; in which number is the

charge of this author against Mr. Deane, concerning his proposal of a German Prince to command our armies. I shall probably speak of this in a succeeding publication.

In this chaos of falsehoods, I have, however, discovered two truths, which from a principal of candor, and because they are (as Gentlemen of the Law express it) cases in point, I beg leave to quote, without making any comment on them.

Truth 1st. In Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 31st December, Mr. Common Sense observes, "That a smooth flattering tale may do for a while, but unless it can be supported by facts, and maintained by the most incontestable proofs, it will fall to the ground, and leave the inventor in the lurch."

Truth 2d. The same writer, in a publication of January 9, makes this observation: "Repeated instances have shewn that the moment any man steps aside from the public interests of America, he becomes *despised*, and if in office, superceded."

I shall now conclude my observations on Mr. Common Sense's claim to credibility as a periodical writer. What kind of historian he will make, the public will determine from the specimens I have furnished them with.

My object being to convince the public judgment (which I am sensible has been for some time bewildered), I have not roamed in the wide field of insinuation or invective; but studiously avoiding to call the writer on whom I have commented either rogue or lion, have contented myself to prove him both.

PHILALETHES.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 23, 1779.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS PAINE.

To the PEOPLE of AMERICA.

There are not throughout the United States a set of men who have rendered more injury to the general

cause, or committed more acts of injustice against the whole community, than those who are known by the name of *monopolizers;* together with such others as have squandered away, or, as Col. R. H. Lee rightly expresses it, "have *fingered* large sums of the public money." That there are such men is neither to be doubted or to be wondered at. The numerous emissions of currency, and the few accounts that have been settled, are sufficient signs of the former, and the tempting circumstances of the times and degeneracy of moral principle make the latter too highly probable. One monopolizer confederates with another, and defaulter with defaulter, till the cause becomes a common one; yet still these men will talk of justice, and, while they profess abhorrence to the principles that govern them, they pathetically lament the evils they create. That private vice should thus put on the mask of public good, and even impudence in guilt assume the stile of patriotism, are paradoxes which those can best explain who must practise them. On my own part I can safely say, and challenge any one to contradict me, that I have publicly served America in the worst of times, with an unshaken fortitude and fidelity, and that without either pay or reward, save the trifling pittance of seventy dollars per month, which Congress two years ago affixed to the office of Secretary in the foreign department, and which I had too much spirit to complain of, and they too little generosity to consider. This, with about four or five hundred dollars more, make up all the expence that America has ever been put to on my account. All that I have written she has had from me as a gift, and I cannot now serve her better than in endeavoring to prevent her being imposed upon by those who have wronged her interest, abused her confidence, or invaded the rights of citizenship. The two former classes I distinguish under the names of *Monopolizers* and *Defaulters.* That these men, dreading the consequences of being exposed, should vent their venomed rage at me, is what

I naturally expected, and is *one of the marks by which they may be known.*

It was a heavy task to begin, yet it was a necessary one; and the public will in time feel the benefit of it and thank me for it. It has ever been my custom to take the bull by the horns, and bring out the great offenders; which, tho' difficult at first, saves a world of trouble in the end. A man who is so exceedingly civil that for the sake of quietude and a peaceable name will silently see the community imposed upon, or their rights invaded, may, in his principles, be a good man, but cannot be stiled a useful one, neither does he come up to the full mark of his duty; for silence becomes a kind of crime when it operates as a cover or an encouragement to the guilty.

There is a liberty the press has in a free country, which I will sooner yield to the inconvenience of, than be the means of suppressing. I mean that of publishing under anonymous signatures. I leave the printers to be governed by decency in the choice of the pieces they may publish; yet I will ever hold that man a villain who attacks a personal reputation and dares not face what he writes; he proves the lie upon himself by his concealment, and put the printer to answer for it. He stands upon a footing with a murderer by midnight, and encreases his villainy by subjecting innocent persons to be suspected of the baseness which himself has acted. I have yet one virtue left, which is that of acting openly, and, meaning ever to do so, I leave concealment to the monopolizer, the defaulter, and criminal of every cast with those whom they may hire or engage. Public measures may be properly examined under anonymous signatures, but civility as well as justice demands that private reputation should not be stabbed in the dark. However, it is the murderer's walk, and those who use it are welcome to it.

I give this as an introduction to a piece which will appear in the next paper. We have been sinking from

one stage of public virtue to another, till the whole body seems to want a re-animation, a calling back to life. The spirit that hath long slept has at last awakened by a false alarm. Yet since it is up it may be turned to an extensive advantage, and be made the means of rooting out the evils that produced it. We are neither the same People nor the same Congress that we were two years and an half ago. The former wants invigorating, the latter purging. No time can be so proper for this work as the winter. The rest that naturally ensues from the operation of arms, gives us the advantage of doing it without inconvenience. Those who dread detection will oppose all enquiries, and stigmatize the proposal to secure themselves; while those who have nothing to fear and no other objects in pursuit than what are founded in honor, justice, and the common good of all, will act a contrary part.

COMMON SENSE.

P. S. To end all disputes relative to the supplies, I have to inform that when the present race of scribblers have done, I shall publish an original letter on that subject from a gentleman of high authority. I have shewn it to several of the first character in this city. Mr. Deane and Mr. Beaumarchis may pay to each other what compliments they please; it is but of little importance to the subject, and is somewhat laughable to those who know the whole story.

The public will please to remember, that whether the supplies were a present or not, made no part of my argument; but only that the procuring them in any case did not depend on Mr. Deane, to which may say, nor yet on Mr. Beaumarchais.

In one of my former pieces I said that, "I believed we are got too fond of *buying* and *selling* to receive a present for the public, when there is nothing to be got by it ourselves, and that the Agent's profit was to purchase, not to receive."

If Mr. Deane takes too much pains to prove them a purchase, he will raise a suspicion that they are not a purchase, and that a present from the gentlemen of France has been smuggled. I shall make no other answer on this head till every body has done.

C. S.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 23, 1779.

Silas Deane's Reply to Richard Henry Lee.

To Richard Henry Lee, *Esquire.*

Sir,—I have read a publication in Mr. Towne's paper of the 14th, taken from Mr. Purdie's Virginia Gazette, of the first instant, under your signature. Whatever is delivered to the public, by a person of your elevated rank and character, must be supposed to carry uncommon weight with it, whether it respects men or things. This consideration obliges me to make a few observations, on what you justly term your *hasty narrative.* In doing which, I shall take no farther notice of the terms, *libel, fabulous, inuendo, calumnies, &c.*, with which your narrative is enriched, than to observe that it serves to support the assertion of Mr. Payne, who has told the public that he has been for several years past your intimate acquaintance; and at the same time to shew how much you have improved by his conversation, as well as by his writings. Had you taken proper time for reflection, you would I doubt not have prevented me the trouble of writing, and yourself the pain of reading what may be disagreeable to you. You say, "*had I winked at all information of public abuse I do not think I should have incurred Mr. Deane's censure, but whilst I am honored with public trust it shall be my constant endeavour to prevent the community from being injured, and certainly to insist that all those who have fingered large sums of the public money should be called upon for a fair and honest settlement.*"

Have I been charged with abuse of the public trust reposed in me, or with having misapplied public monies? Have Congress or any one member of that honorable body brought forward any such charge? After repeated and urgent solicitations on my part for an audience, and to be informed if any such charge had been made or any unfavorable representations of my conduct, you produced, it is true, an extract of a letter from a person notoriously ignorant of my transactions, who was not in public trust himself, and scarce known to me personally, and who wrote not to Congress but to you or some other individual, not what he pretended to know himself but what he understood from the conversation which passed between him and a gentleman of my intimate acquaintance. This you were pleased at the time to call information,—you did not *wink* at it, but brought it forward, groundless and unsupported as it was; fortunately the gentleman of my acquaintance referred to was in town, and was called before Congress and examined. What was the issue? This gentleman, from whom this information was said to be originally received, who had been intimately acquainted with me and my public conduct, from my first arriving in Paris until he left it, which was but two or three months before I set out on my return for America, informed Congress of nothing on which the most distant grounds for a charge could be laid against any part of my transactions. You could not be ignorant of this when you wrote your *hasty narrative*. You were present in Congress at his examination. You were also present when I entreated that I might be heard before Congress, and that all the affairs I had been concerned in for the public, whether of a commercial or political nature, either solely or jointly with my colleagues, might be examined into and settled, and for reasons urged that my private circumstances and situation pressed me exceedingly to have such examination and settlement made. You

know that this was the stile, in which I uniformly spoke and wrote to Congress from my first arrival until you left Philadelphia, several months after; and the public will judge whether this is the stile of a man who wishes to have *all information of public abuse winked at*, or any information withheld which respects himself. The resolution of Congress for my recal was taken in November, 1777; the letter inclosing that resolution was dated the 8th December following. Neither the resolution nor letter accompanying it (though you were yourself one of the Committee for foreign affairs) intimated any charge or suspicion of abuse of trust in me, but directly the contrary. It is now more than fourteen months since the resolution was taken, more than six that I have been attending in this city. Has there to this moment been any charge against me? If there has been I call on you to publish it to the world and to support it—for my part I have heard of none.

I will here leave the artful but groundless insinuation with which you set out, to take notice of the fact asserted in my publication of the 5th of December, which is the only one denied by you in your narrative. In your denial you carefully repeat the words I made use of, and deny your ever having said, "*that America had a right by the alliance to make peace, without consulting her ally, if England did not declare war.*" You indeed acknowledge that you said, "*that war may be made without declaring it, and that if England would acknowledge the independence of America, and not resent the part France had taken, America was at liberty to make a similar treaty with England or any other nation.*" I leave to abler casuists than I pretend to be, to find out any material difference between the two assertions, and at the same time, to reconcile if possible, your doctrine with that of Congress, declared in their resolution of the 14th instant, which is as follows: *Resolved unanimously, That as neither France, nor these United States, may of right, so these*

United States will not conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy, without the formal consent of their ally first obtained, and that any matter or things which may be insinuated, or asserted to the contrary thereof, tend to the injury and dishonor of these States. This is the only fact asserted in my address which you have denied, but insinuations sometimes answer, as well as direct assertions, or denials, and therefore you say, "*That Mr. Deane talks much about his great services, and good conduct, but how happens it, that of four Commissioners besides himself, three are so clear and so strong in reprobating that conduct? Nor are these the only men that have done so, as I shall make appear hereafter.*" I ask you who those three are? and why you did not tell the world that two of them are your brothers, and that the third is not *Doctor Franklin?* You know that Doctor Franklin's conduct is as severely reprobated by this *Triumvirate*, as mine has ever been by them. You know in what stile two of them have wrote to Congress respecting him, and his conduct, nor are you ignorant of what this truly great man has wrote to Congress of me, my services and conduct. Were you not present in Congress when his letter of the 21st December, 1777, was read? Speaking of me in this letter, he says, "*He daily approves himself to my certain knowledge, an able, faithful, active and extremely useful servant of the public; a testimony which I think it is my duty to take this occasion giving to his merit, unasked, as considering my great age, I may probably not live to give it personally in Congress, and I perceive he has enemies.*" You were present when the following letter from him to the President of Congress of the 31st of March, 1778, was read.

"Sir,—My colleague, Mr. Deane, being recalled by Congress, and no reasons given, that have yet appeared here, it is apprehended to be the effect of some misrepresentations *from an enemy or two at Paris and at Nantz.* I have no doubt that he will

be able clearly to justify himself; but having lived now fifteen months, the greatest part of the time in the same house, with him, and been a constant witness of his public conduct, I cannot omit giving this testimony, tho' unasked, in his behalf, that I esteem him a faithful, active and able Minister, who, to my knowledge, has done in various ways great and important services to his country, whose interests I wish may always by everyone in her employ be as much and as effectually promoted."

You introduce your hasty narrative by declaring that you have a good conscience, and that you have done your duty, and afterwards go on to declare upon the honor of a gentleman and the faith of a christian. But let me ask you how, actuated by such principles, you could throw out so doubtful and so ensnaring an expression as this ——. "*Mr. Deane talks much about his great services, &c.*," and why you did not tell the whole, to which you were no stranger? Had you told it, it would have stood thus: *Of four Commissioners in public service, (or rather in public pay) three, viz. Mr. A. Lee, Mr. W. Lee, and Mr. Izard, reprobate Mr. Deane's conduct; the fourth, Dr. Franklin highly approves of it. There are, it is true, other persons also who reprobate his conduct, as I shall make appear hereafter. But it is equally true that his Most Christian Majesty and his Minister have declared to Congress their approbation of his conduct in the strongest terms; and of the three reprobating Commissioners, one only, Mr. A. Lee, was Mr. Deane's colleague, and in the way of being acquainted with his transactions.* You see, Sir, that the whole truth might have been told by you in very few words; and where the cause is good and the intention of the writer sincere, it will serve better than either threats or innuendos. You might have told the public that this Trio of Commissioners reprobate the conduct of Dr. Franklin, and that you have seen letters from one of them which represent him as void of every principle of common honor and common

honesty. I have been credibly informed, and I presume you will not deny it, that in a public letter from one of them there is this sentence, speaking of this great Patriot and Philosopher. "*His abilities are great and his reputation high; removed as he is to so considerable a distance from the observation of his constituents, if he is not guided by principles of virtue and honor, these abilities and that reputation may produce the most mischievous effects. In my conscience I believe him to be under no such internal restraints, and God knows I speak the real, unprejudiced sentiments of my heart.*" Here is reprobation indeed! and a protest and appeal as solemn as you or any other person can make. Neither you nor the public can be at any loss who these *enemies* are of whom Dr. Franklin speaks in his letters; nor will it be much longer a secret to the public that Dr. Franklin and myself are not the only persons reprobated by them, but that the first characters, both in Congress, in the most secret and confidential departments of Congress, in the army, and civil departments, have been reprobated or caballed against by one or more of those Commissioners, and by certain persons on this side of the water, to whom, I presume, you are no stranger, since Mr. Payne has undertook to vindicate you on a subject which you can doubtless explain much better than he can. He says in his publication in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 7th instant, speaking of you, "*I have heard it mentioned of this gentleman, that he was among those whose impatience for victory led them into some kind of discontent at the operations of last winter.* The event has, I think, fully proved *those gentlemen* wrong, and must convince them of it; but I can see no reason why a mis-grounded opinion, produced by an *over-heated anxiety for success*, should be mixed up with other matters it has no concern with. A man's political abilities may be exceedingly good, though at the same time he may differ, and even be wrong, in his notions of some military particulars."

For my own part I am fully confident that every intrigue and cabal formed against our illustrious Commander in Chief, will prove as ineffectual as those against Dr. Franklin. I have not the vanity to rank myself with these great men. But I cannot but be conscious of having rendered some important services to my country; I have received the most honorable testimonials thereof, from those, and from some other great and distinguished personages, and I have been reprobated by *three Commissioners and some others*. Thus far I am placed in the company of those great persons, and I take a pride in it, though thousands of such reprobators attack me. Has not the brave and patriotic President of this State been attacked from the same quarter? Has not—but I have neither inclination nor leisure to go farther on the long list of dignified, and truly patriotic characters, which have been attacked or reprobated by some of those whom you refer to, and with whom you are acquainted. It is sufficient to have reminded you, and shewn the public, that you appear in your hasty narrative, to have forgotten what ought to have been well known to you; and I am not uninformed of transactions and designs, which I am grieved to think could ever have had existence, and that a perseverance in them, will force me to lay them before the public. Mean time wishing you that faith of a Christian, the fruits of which are eminently *charity*, *simplicity* and *candor*, I bid you farewell. S. DEANE.

Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 26, 1779.

THOMAS PAINE ON PHILALETHES.

For the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

[The piece promised by this author in our last, is deferred to a future paper, to make room for the following.]

I am told that the writer or assistant writer of the

piece signed Philalethes is believed to be a person of the name of *Parke*, and that he is subject at times to fits of craziness. This is not mentioned as a reproach but as an excuse for him ; and being the best that can be made, I therefore charitably apply his disorder as a remedy to his reputation. What credit or benefit Mr. Deane can expect to derive from the service of a crazy man I am at a loss to conceive ; and as I think it quite out of character to contend with such a person (provided the report is true) I shall satisfy myself with civilly pointing out an *error* or two, and leave the public to think as they please of the rest.

In my last piece I declared that I should say nothing farther on the subject of the supplies till every other person had done. I shall keep to that declaration ; but in the mean time I think it necessary that what I have already written should not be misunderstood or misrepresented.

Philalethes in his last piece has twice quoted the following expressions of mine from a publication of the 2d instant, viz. "The supplies which he (Mr. Deane) so pompously plumes himself upon were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before he even arrived in France." That I have used this expression is true, but in a quite different sense to what Philalethes has used it in ; and none but a crazy man would have quoted it without quoting the whole paragraph. My declaring "that the supplies were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before Mr. Deane went to France" is *one thing*, and my declaring that I have a letter which says so, is entirely another thing. Philalethes has crazily applied the declaration to the supplies themselves, whereas in the place where I have used it, it is only applied to a *letter* which *mentions* the supplies. I shall quote the whole paragraph, word for word, from Mr. Dunlap's paper of Jan. 2d, and every man must see it in the same light, and allow that I have either a crazy or an unjust set of men to deal with. The paragraph is—

"If Mr. Deane or any other gentleman will *procure an order from Congress* to inspect an account in my office, or if any of Mr. Deane's friends in Congress will take the trouble of coming themselves, I will give him or them my attendance, and shew them in a *hand writing* which Mr. Deane is well acquainted with, that the supplies he so pompously plumes himself upon were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before Mr. Deane even arrived in France." Philalethes ought to be obliged to me for assigning his craziness as an excuse for his crime.

Now it only remains to know whether there is such a letter or not. I again declare there is; but that neither the King of France, by any name or title whatever, nor yet the nation of France, are anywhere mentioned in that letter; and surely the gentlemen of that country might make, or offer, a present to America if they pleased, with as much propriety as the merchants and others of London did to the Corsicans when they were warring against the French; and perhaps, if we had not had a purchasing Agent, such a present might have come. Having brought the matter to this point, I shall mention as a proof of there being such a letter, that I have shewn it to several Members of Congress, among whom I take the liberty of naming General Roberdeau one of the Delegates of this state; and I am confident that that gentleman will, in any company, and on any occasion, do me the justice to say that he has seen such a letter, and nothing farther is necessary.

It is evident, that so far from my asserting or laboring to prove the supplies a present, that I did not so much as form an opinion upon that matter myself. My first mention of them is in the paper of Jan. 2d, in these words: "The supplies here alluded to are those which were sent from France in the Amphitrite, Seine and Mercury about two years ago. They had at first the *appearance* of a present, but whether *so* or on *credit*, the service was nevertheless a great and friendly one."

And in the paper of Jan. 5th I likewise said, "That as the contract had not been explained by any of Mr. Deane's letters, and is left in obscurity by that which he signed the 16th of February last, therefore *the full explanation must rest upon other authority.*" This is the last expression of mine relating to the conditions of those supplies in any of my pieces intitled "Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's affair," and it must be clear to every man whether partial or otherwise, that I even relinquished all pretensions to the forming any opinion of my own on that head, but left it to be decided by those whose business it was.

The point I really set out to prove, respecting those supplies, is effectually proved, and that not only by me, but by my opponents, viz. That we are not obliged to Mr. Deane for them. The letters which themselves have published of Mr. Arthur Lee, of May 23d, June 14th, and 21st, all of them in the year 1776, prove that the contract was began before Mr. Deane arrived. Even Mr. Beaumarchais's letter to Congress in support of Mr. Deane, proves the same, for he says, "*Long before the arrival of Mr. Deane in France*, I had formed the project of establishing a commercial house, sufficiently powerful and spirited to hazard the risques of the sea and enemy, in carrying you stores and merchandize for your troops, of which I learned you were in great want. I spoke of this plan to Mr. Arthur Lee in London," &c.

Now taking off the honor of Mr. Deane's originally procuring those supplies, which he has no title to, and I ask, What were his services in France?

Answer. He proposed sending over a German Prince, namely: Prince Ferdinand, to command the army, and consequently to supercede General Washington. Mr. Deane will not disown this, because it is in his own hand writing. Fine patriot, indeed!

I conceive it perfectly needless to set any thing else to rights, or to do it only for diversion sake, and one of the best replies I could make to Philalethes would

be to publish my pieces over again. Mr. Deane's instructions and authority from the Committee were as I concisely related them, and what Philalethes calls a "detection" is a confirmation. Mr. Deane in his publication of Dec. 5th, to the public, says, "After leaving your papers and mine in safety, I left Paris the 30th of March." Surely I might say so too, yet this crazy man has contradicted me. He likewise tells the public that the foreign papers were *all* in the hands of the Secretary of Congress, whereas the far greater part of them were in mine, and I delivered them only last Saturday seven'night to James Lovell, Esquire, member of the foreign Committee. In short, the man is most certainly crazy, for he does not even distinguish between Mr. Deane's being *directed* by Congress to *communicate* the Declaration of Independence to foreign courts, and his not being *invested with a proper public character to announce it in form.* A great number of his *detections*, as he calls them, are mere quibbles, of which the following is an instance.

Falsehood 16th. Common Sense says that Mr. Deane was directed by the Committee which employed him to engage four engineers. Detection. Mr. Deane, says Philalethes, had no such instruction."

This is quibblingly true, because Mr. Deane's instruction was to engage Engineers *not exceeding* four. I am really ashamed to be seen replying to such ridiculous trash, which can be thrown out for no other purpose than to bewilder the public, and their own sense must see it. A good cause would scorn such wretched support, and such crazy supporters.

Leaving in this place poor Philalethes, I proceed to take notice of two real letters published in that piece, the one signed *Benjamin Franklin*, the other *James Lovell.*

That from Dr. Franklin is a civil certificate in behalf of Mr. Deane while acting in *conjunction* with the Doctor as a "*public minister*" for the space of "*fifteen months*," commencing from the time that the

Doctor and Mr. Arthur Lee arrived in France, till the time of Mr. Deane's recall. In that period of *fifteen months* Mr. Deane could not go wrong; because, being "honored with one colleague and *saddled* with another," he stood safely between the two.

But the Doctor is perfectly silent with respect to the conduct of Mr. Deane during the six months prior to the Doctor's arrival, and in which six months Mr. Deane was Commercial Agent with Mr. Thomas Morris, and Political Agent into the bargain. Here the Doctor is wholly reserved; neither does he mention a word about Mr. Deane's *procuring* the supplies; which, as it forms so principal an object in Mr. Deane's separate agency, ought not to have been omitted; and therefore the omission is a negative evidence against Mr. Deane's importance in that transaction. In short, the silence of the letter on these heads makes more against Mr. Deane than the declarations make for him.

Now it unfortunately happens, that the objections against Mr. Deane are confined to the six months prior to the Doctor's arrival, and of consequence the letter does not reach the complaint, but leaves him just as he was. Neither could the Doctor know all the circumstances of Mr. Deane's separate agency. Mr. Deane arrived in France in June, Doctor Franklin in December; very little of Mr. Deane's correspondence had reached America before the Doctor left it, and on the Doctor's arrival in France it ceased, and the separate agency with it. That something was not agreeable may be collected from Mr. Beaumarchais's letter to Congress, for tho' Mr. Deane had said, *that the United States of America were under greater obligations to Mr. Beaumarchais, than to any other man in Europe*, yet Mr. Beaumarchais says in his letter "that in the affair of the supplies he transacted with no other person than Mr. Deane, the other deputies (of which Dr. Franklin was one) scarcely shewing him the most distant marks of civility." Strange indeed if all is

true that Mr. Deane has told! After this Mr. Beaumarchais repays Mr. Deane with an equal lavishment of praise, and the echo concludes the letter. Yet of all these things the Doctor says not a syllable, but leaves the two gentlemen to Mr. Deane to "*justify himself.*" In my first piece, "*on Mr. Deane's affairs*," December 31st I mentioned that the accounts which it was Mr. Deane's particular duty to settle, were those which he contracted in the time of his being only a Commercial Agent, which separate agency of his expired fifteen months before he left France. This brings it to the period on which Dr. Franklin is silent.

Every day opens something new. The dispatches of October 1777, which were said to be stolen, are now believed by some and conjectured by others not to be in the hands of the enemy. Philalethes says that they contained no such secret as I have pretended. How does he know what secret I have pretended, as I have not disclosed any nor ever will? The duplicates of those dispatches have arrived since and have been in my hands, and I can say thus much that they contain a paragraph which is I think a flat contradiction to one-half what Mr. Deane wrote while a separate Agent; and if he when in conjunction with his colleagues had to sign something that disagreed with what he had before written, and declared since, it was *fortunate for him that the dispatches were stolen*, unfortunate that the duplicates arrived.

Another circumstance is somewhat striking respecting those dispatches; they should have arrived in York-Town last winter about the time that Mr. Beaumarchais's and Mr. Deane's contract was presented to Congress for payment, *fortunate again that they were stolen.* In short, had Mr. Deane or his friend who signs himself W. D. in Mr. Holts paper of the 11th instant half as much cause for suspicion as I have concerning the loss of those dispatches, they would ground thereon a heavy and positive charge.

I fully expected after Mr. Deane's return to Amer-

ica, that he would have furnished the public, at least anonymously, with the history of this extraordinary theft, instead of which the whole matter has slept in silence.

Mr. Lovell's letter I observe has been printed twice in Mr. Dunlap's paper. A curious circumstance indeed? It is a civil answer to a civil letter and that is the amount of it. But it says, that "Mr. Deane may return with renewed honor in commission to Holland." By Mr. Lovell's figurative manner of expression and turn of political sentiments, I should suppose that he thought Mr. Deane's *former* honors were somewhat *decayed.* I am persuaded he thinks so now, and so I believe did every member of the foreign Committee, as well as the Secretary.

It requires a greater degree of dexterity than any of my opponents are possessed of, to conduct an argument consistently that is founded upon wrong or bad principles. The chief part of my accusations are drawn from the defence which themselves have set up. They have enabled me to convert their justification into a charge, and by pressing them on one part, they have given evidence against themselves in another.

To prove something, for I scarcely know what about the supplies, they have published three letters of the Hon. A. Lee of May and June, 1776, in which the patriotism and ardor of that gentleman is so evidently displayed, that they stand as evidence against Mr. Deane's address to the public of December 5th, in which he accuses him of defaction; and likewise prove what I have before declared, viz., that the affair of the supplies was first communicated by Mr. Beaumarchais to Mr. A. Lee in London, about three years ago. And by publishing Mr. Beaumarchais's letter for the sake of a compliment in it to Mr. Deane, they have confirmed the same evidence, because that letter likewise says that "*long before Mr. Deane arrived in France the project was formed.*" As to the *present*

or the *purchase* I never undertook to give even an opinion upon. It was the priority of the plan only that I sought to prove, and that being now sufficiently proved. The puffs given out to support Mr. Deane are shewn to be false. The rest I leave to time and chance.

I shall conclude this paper with remarking on the shocking depravity of moral principle with which Mr. Deane and his partizans conduct their affairs. They prove nothing, but exert their whole force to blast the reputation of every one who stands in their way or makes a doubt of their designs. The heat and error produced in the public, by Mr. Deane's address of December 5th, must have long ago subsided, had it not been constantly fed from some monopolizing poisoned spring. To keep up the flame they had unjustly raised has been the studied business of that party. Every morning opened with a lie and every evening closed with another. The sun has risen and gone down upon their falsehoods in the multitude of which they have bewildered detection. Still no man appears to own them. Who will listen to a tale without a name, or give credit to inventions which themselves are ashamed to father? A report neither proved nor owned becomes a falsehood contradicted. If their cause is just, if their object is honorable, if their intentions are really for the public good, why do they hide themselves from the eye of the public like Adam from the face of his Maker? Why do they skulk under the darkness of anonymous signatures; or why do they rest their hopes on the ruin of another's fame?

By cutting, mangling and curtailing they may prove treason from the law, and blasphemy from every page in the Bible, and if they can draw any comfort from serving my publications in the same manner, they have my free consent.

The public have seen Mr. Deane's address of December 5th, in which he likewise endeavors to ruin

the character of two gentlemen who are absent, and in order that the hitherto fair fame of those absent persons may be effectually destroyed, without the chance of proving their innocence or replying to their accusers, a most infernal friend of his (for I will call him such) has converted all Mr. Deane's insinuations into facts, and given them with the most heated language to the inhabitants of the State of New-York in Mr. Holt's paper of January 11th; and that the public may know the barbarous and unjustifiable means by which Mr. Deane is kept up, I shall republish that letter in Mr. Dunlap's paper of Thursday next; being confident that every man in America who has the least spark of honor or honesty left will feel an abhorrence at such detestable principles and practices. No character can stand, however fair, no reputation can survive, however honorable, if men unheard and in their absence are to be anonymously destroyed.

The letter has not the least reference to me. I am perhaps intentionally left out, that the charges it contains may be supposed to be both uncontradicted and undoubted, and my design in republishing it is to expose the black principle on which it is constructed.

It is dated Orange County, December 31, and signed W. D. If any person in this city (for I dare not call him a gentleman), should find it convenient to remove suspicions of his being the author, I thus give him notice of the time of republication.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 25, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 26, 1779.

WILLIAM DUER'S ADDRESS, WITH THOMAS PAINE'S REPLY.

To the PUBLIC.

Honesty is the best policy.

I shall in this piece present the public with the letter I promised in my last, from Mr. Holt's paper of

January 11th. It needs no explanatory comment. And there is no apology the writer can possibly make for his atrocious conduct. Had the persons whom he mentions been legally convicted of every crime which he has made and declared them guilty of, the letter, even in that case, would show a spirit of revenge that has never till now appeared in America.

If Mr. Deane has said in his address of Dec. 5th what he cannot justify, and should he be found to have done it from a bad and revengeful principle, he must expect to suffer for it. But the writer of this letter, who appears to be an intimate friend of his, has taken all his (Mr. Deane's) insinuations and assertions for facts, and without hearing a single evidence on the contrary side, has called, in the most furious manner, on the people to pass sentence of condemnation.

As the public has seen Mr. Deane's address of Dec. 5th, they can compare it with the *description which this writer gives of it.* And that they may judge of the account he likewise gives of Mr. Deane, they need only recollect that the Congress when at York-Town last winter were so dissatisfied with his conduct that they recalled, and sent another gentleman to supercede him.

The reasons for his recall have not appeared, and are not on the Journals of Congress, and Mr. Deane is principally indebted for that favor to Col. R. H. Lee, who strongly opposed their being placed there, not because they were not true, but because Mr. Deane was an absent man, and that it was both illegal and ungenerous to pass any thing which implied a sentence on a man who was not personally present. The public will now hear on what a contrary spirit Mr. Deane and his partizans proceed, and what unjustifiable methods they have taken to inflame both the town and the country. It is impossible that well meaning men could act such a part. An honest cause does not require such supports ; neither can a bad one be long supported by such ways and means. Every

cause wherein men can be engaged is accompanied with a spirit that is consistent with it. Look on America from the beginning of her opposition up to the present day, and see how naturally her temper and conduct corresponded with her object and condition; and in like manner look on the cause of the enemy, namely, that of oppressing and tyrannizing over a whole people, and you will find it accompanied on their part by those kind of passions which are naturally associated with such abandoned designs; rage, malice and revenge. Carry this observation into any or all the circumstances of private life and you will ever find it true, more or less; because it is one of those kind of truths which does not depend upon our choice or abilities to alter, and which, whether we think of it or not, or whether we will or not, will sooner or later effectually take place.

I am not writing purposely to defend any particular person or persons. Let every man's conduct defend itself. Yet it is not natural in me to stand quietly by and see the characters of those who are not present to answer for themselves, unjustly or unmercifully torn in pieces. There is a tenderness due to the absent as well as to the dead; and had either Mr. Arthur or William Lee or Col. R. H. Lee been present, I should, so far as related to their persons, been silent.

But the principal inducement to my taking the matter up is that part of it which makes it a public measure; for my opinion, in a few words, is, that by raising a clamor against the Lees a popular pretence would have been formed for removing them, and then by filling up the vacancies with other persons, and getting Mr. Deane off as Ambassador to Holland, a very extensive scheme of monopolizing would have been carried on, to the injury of trade in general; and if any part of Mr. Deane's conduct, abroad or at home, requires concealment he would have found it in the success of that attempt.

I now proceed to lay the letter before the public,

and shall leave them to judge what sort of measures they must be that require such an incendiary spirit to accomplish them.

From Mr. Holt's paper [The New York Journal and the General Advertiser, Poughkeepsie] of January 11th, 1779:

To the Free and Independent Inhabitants of the State of New-York.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

I have often addressed you, and have flattered myself, sometimes with success. I now find myself called upon, by every tender tie to you and my country, to endeavour rousing your attention to the importance of the information contained in Mr. Deane's address to the free and virtuous Citizens of America, published in the Pennsylvania Packet, and re-published in Mr. Loudon's Packet of the 17th instant. Information, my fellow-countrymen, of the most interesting nature, and such as has given me more real concern than all the endeavours of the enemy to subdue us, and I am confident, to every considerate mind, it must be equally effecting, and must raise in the breast of every lover of his country an invincible indignation for those men who have been abusing the confidence the Honorable the Congress have reposed in them, by intrusting them with your concerns abroad. But before I say more on this head, let me call your attention to the quarter from whence this information comes. Who is Mr. Deane? He is, my friends, a man of tryed integrity, abilities, and veracity, and one who the whole United American States, by their Representatives in Congress, have thought worthy of the highest trust and confidence. This then is the authority on which this most important information is founded; he tells you your affairs abroad are in part intrusted to people who have betrayed you, and who continue to betray you; and the attempt of that notable spy, Doctor

Berkenhout, to impose on you is a circumstantial evidence of the truth of all the rest. Mr. Deane has promised to acquaint you with other matters necessary for you to know. I doubt not but his love to his injured country will stimulate him to a full discovery, and that not only you, my fellow-citizens, but the free and virtuous citizens of every State to whom he has addressed himself, will unite in detecting and exposing not only this, but every other combination against the true interests of this country. You will observe that Mr. Deane writes with modesty, moderation, and temper, paying the greatest respect to Congress, as the collected and united voice of the good people of these States, and consequently to the servants of Congress, so far as their conduct merits such respect.

Congress, as the respective body of the United American States, most undoubtedly claims your highest respect and veneration ; but you must be too well acquainted with human nature, to expect that every member is virtuous, or proof against temptation. Jealousy of those in power is very necessary, nay, inseparable to freedom ; and however neglected it has been, believe me, you cannot too often, by your representatives in Assembly, &c., instruct your Delegates in Congress. Every virtuous member will receive your instructions with pleasure. Treachery and deceit in the servants of the public should be exposed to public view ; and never, in my opinion, have you had greater occasion than the present, to instruct your delegates, to endeavour to have the conduct of the servants of the public abroad scrutinized.

If we may believe the evidence of Mr. Deane, such a scene of villainy would be disclosed as would strike every honest man with horror ; and while you, my friends, are risking life, property, nay every thing that is near and dear to you, your servants are betraying you to their own emolument, to what a degree of infamy ought such men to be consigned, your danger from such is inconceivably great, and nothing

but the interposition of the Almighty could have saved you thus long. It is therefore a duty you owe to yourselves and posterity, to take the alarm and guard effectually against all traitors ; let merit, with known and tryed attachment to the great cause of American freedom and independence, be the recommendation of all public servants ; and not baneful family influence. I write without prejudice, for I can say with confidence I know not the family nor their connections ; but as Mr. Deane has boldly, in the face of part of that family, published those stubborn facts, no farther evidence can be necessary to alarm the apprehensions of every virtuous American, and shew them the impropriety and danger of trusting too much to one family. That Arthur Lee kept his Secretary passing to and from *London*, while the treaty was negociating between *France* and *America* is a proof that the British ministry received their early intelligence from that quarter. That the same Doct. Berkenhout, who was in the confidence of Mr. Lee in France, should endeavour to be in the confidence of Mr. Lee's brother in Congress, and who Mr. A. Lee acknowledged to his brother Commissioner was in the confidence of the British ministry, proves that Mr. Lee's reluctance to agree to the treaty with France proceeded from his attachment to the interest of Britain ; add to this, that William Lee was from February 1777, the time Mr. Deane received notice of his appointment, to December the same year before he thought proper to act for you, in all which time your affairs were suffering irrepairably, this considered, and putting confidence in Mr. Deane's information, it is evident to demonstration, that those men who were entrusted with your business and your secrets were really and truly in the confidence and interest of your enemies ; and that America might, with as much propriety, have sent Lord Shelburn or Lord North, their Commissioners to France, &c., as either of the Mr. Lee's, had their attachments been known. I need not, I hope, remind our sister States of the

necessity of paying a proper attention to Mr. Deane's publication; I believe their own wisdom will point it out to them, and that every State will instruct their Delegates to endeavour to have this dark business exposed to public view, and recommend servants in future to the notice of Congress, whose merit, attachment and abilities are undoubted. I have omitted remarking on every particular of the address, because I would recommend to this and every other State, to have that and all the rest of Mr. Deane's publications on this head printed and dispersed for the information of the inhabitants and people at large.

W. D

Orange County, Dec. 31, 1778.

Will any man step forward and own this letter? It is, I believe, needless to go to Orange County for a knowledge of the author. The charges in it are either true or false; if true, let the writer be known that he may prove them; if not true, let him likewise be known, least his concealment should subject innocent persons to suspicion. He who will by honest and justifiable means assist in detecting public abuses, wherever they can be found, is a useful character; but an anonymous detractor is the serpent of society.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 27.

Mr. Holt is requested to publish this in his paper, and Mr. Loudon the same.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 28, 1779.

COL. WALTER STEWART TO MAJ. GEN. GREENE.

Extract of a letter, dated Williamsburgh, Jan. 29th, 1779.

The affair between Mr. Deane and the Lees has occasioned much conversation in this Country; we

found the People as low down as Fredericksburgh possess'd with very Just Ideas of those men and their Colleagues in Congress ; but Richard Henry with a few Adherents have been very busy between that place and Williamsburgh, the People heard but one Story, and were from their Old Attachments to the Lee family willing to believe it ; however, Col. Ball and Myself have been equally Industrious in placing things in a proper light, and I flatter myself the day is not far distant when the Junto will receive a Severe Shock by being depriv'd of one of their most Artful, designing and Wicked men the Country stands Curs'd with ; I mean Richard Henry. It is amazing to hear of his Artifice in this State to support a Popular Character, but the People's eyes are now Open'd and I doubt whether his Oratory & Weeping will again bring Tears and Lamentations (as usual) for his sufferings from the Assembly ; they have ever been Infatuated when held forth to them, for what ever he said they were sure to believe.

Collections N. Y. Historical Society, 1873, *page* 303.

To Major General Schuyler.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2d, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I should, before this, acknowledged the receipt of yours, but Gen. Arnold proposing to set out, I deferred it, until I might have a certainty of my letters reaching you, which is, at present, far from being the case, with those sent by the posts. This must serve as my apology for not answering you earlier. And my not beginning the correspondence, was owing to the hopes, I entertained, of seeing you in Philadelphia, long before this date. But really, my friend, I have had very little temptation to write to any, and the least of all, to those whom I esteem, and whose friendship I value myself the most on. Some of them have been thrown into almost the same disagreeable situation

as I have been, and others, I am confident, must have the same disagreeable feelings and apprehensions with myself on the wretched conduct of our public affairs, and the prospects before us, which are not as yet altered for the better. You are not unacquainted with the origin and history of that junto, which, in the course of this contest for public safety and liberty, have, more than once, brought everything dear to us to the brink of ruin. You have experienced the force of their cabals and intrigues, and I most heartily congratulate you on the triumph which you have had over them, and which patriotism and virtue, like yours, must sooner or later obtain over such artful and designing men, who, like all other assassins, are formidable only in the dark, and who must be forever insignificant and unnoticed, except in such storms as the present, in which, as in the natural world, like straws and feathers, the wind mounts them much higher than more solid bodies. Immediately on my return to America, a plan was concerted by a junto to wear me out, and irritate me by delay. They had no charge, nor even the shadow of a charge, against any part of my conduct, which they dared avow in public; but insinuations were industriously propagated by them, in private, whilst I continued (from my arrival in July to December) to solicit and intreat for an audience, for a full and open examination into every part of my conduct abroad, but to no purpose. Their success in their plan for delay gave them confidence, and I was told that being the servant of the public, it was my business and duty to wait their leisure. It is true, I was the servant of the public, and not only my services, but my life and fortune, were cheerfully, and had ever been devoted to my Country; but my honour and reputation I could not sacrifice, even to my Country, much less to them, or to any body of men on earth, without being guilty of the grossest act of suicide. When it was hinted that delay would force me to appeal to the public at large, it produced fresh insults. The press had been so long,

for political reasons, under a voluntary prohibition (as I may say) that I was defied by the leaders of the faction to publish one syllable that respected them or their conduct. Who (said they) dare venture? Alarmed at the situation in which I found my Country, and at the dreadful tendency of their conduct, I determined to come forward, and in a series of letters expose to the view of my honest countryman and fellow citizens the situation and management of their affairs, foreign, as well as domestic. I assure you, my Dear Sir, no resolution I ever took in my life cost me half the pain, and anxiety, which this did. I saw clearly the necessity, the propriety, and justice of the measure. The more evident these appeared, the more I was distressed to find such a step inevitably necessary for my Country as well as for my own honour. Being resolved, I entered the lists. I expected to be abused, for I designed to sound such an alarm as should rouse the most supine. I have not been disappointed. The resolution of Congress, taken the 5th of December (the day my address appeared), put a stop to my proceeding further. Whilst the Representatives of my Countrymen appeared willing to hear me, I could not consider myself at liberty to address the public at large. On the 21st of December I laid before Congress, in writing, a narrative of all my negotiations, and a general history of their affairs abroad. I was (you will suppose) particular, when I tell you it filled near two hundred pages in folio. I was heard with great patience and attention, and, about ten days after, a committee was appointed to examine into foreign affairs, and make report. This committee is rather dilatory, from the number it is composed of, consisting of one member from each State, but, I hope, they will get through in a few days more. I have thus given you a brief account of my situation, and the treatment I have met with. I should be unpardonable for saying so much myself, under almost any other circumstances, but in the present, I will make no apology. I wish,

most sincerely, I may not be obliged to publish the whole of my narrative. The height of my ambition, to convince my Countrymen that I have served them faithfully, and my most ardent prayer, that they may not in future want much abler servants than I pretend to be, in their various departments, foreign, as well as domestic. I dare say you join with me in this prayer, but, I own, I doubt whether you or I have that *faith*, which, we are told, is essentially necessary, to render *prayers effectual*. And if even the prayers of the greatest saints are nothing (or rather worse than nothing) without faith, what can be expected from those made by us *sinners*.

I wish exceedingly to see you, on every account. May I promise myself that pleasure before I leave America? You are greatly wanted here. No doubt your presence is as necessary where you are. I fear the coming season will render it more so. Gen. Arnold must tell you the news. By him I expect a line from you, and though I may set out for Virginia before his return he will know where to direct to me. I hope to return in four or five weeks, immediately after which I shall embrace the first safe opportunity for Europe. Wherever I may be, I shall be happy in your friendship and correspondence, and with the most sincere esteem, Dear Sir, I remain &c.

SILAS DEANE.

To Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler.

Mss. Harvard University.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Feb. 7th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Count Montford will do himself the honor of waiting on you with this Letter, and it is with pleasure I embrace the opportunity to recommend him to your notice as one who has served, and acquired good Reputation in our Army. He has served immediately under Count Polaski, and has

rose from a Voluntier to the rank of Major, when his private affairs, obliging him to return, he resigned his Commission, and was honorably dismissed. He will be able to give you good information of the State of Military affairs in America; hoping he may have the good fortune to arrive in safety, and that this may find you in perfect Health and Happiness, I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect,

Dear Sir, Your most Obedient and very humble Servant,

S. DEANE.

Hon. B. Franklin, Esq[r].

Holbrooke Mss.

WILLIAM LEE TO ARTHUR LEE.

F[rankfor]t, 7 February, 1779.

I was impatient to hear from you, when Mr. I[zar]d the 30th ulto. inform'd me that you had been ill for a fortnight, but was then better. I hope sincerely that you are now quite well, and that in a day or two a letter from yourself will tell me so; but least it should be otherwise, this is sent inclosed to Mr. I., as I wou'd not wish to have your mind ruffled if your body is weak. I do not believe you see the St. James's Chronicle. If you do not, you should send for that from the 26 to 28 January, No. 2789. In it there is a long letter from Silas Deane, which fills up more than 3 columns, dated Philadelphia, November, 1778, and published in Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 5, 1778, addressed to y[e] free & virtuous citizens of America. This letter is entirely a charge against y[e] Lee family. You are the first object and greatest culprit; myself the second, and R. H. L. the next. It is filled with the most impudent falsehoods I ever saw. With respect to myself, I can prove them to be so, and what is more I can prove that he knew some of them to be so at the time he wrote them. Indeed R. H. L.

had documents in his hands, and the Secret Committee also to prove some falsehoods. Yet by the New York paper of December 22, it appears that R. H. L., in answer, addresses the public to suspend its judgment until the charges against his family are inquired into. To which Deane replies, as Congress is now disposed to listen to his plaints, he has no occasion for the mediation of the people. I can't enter into this extraordinary performance, which tho' very illy written, must be fully answer'd; therefore 'tis quite necessary that you should have the paper. If you do not get it from England I must send you the one I have. 'Tis very clear, however, that Deane not finding Congress disposed to send him back, has impudently asserted falsehoods, in order to get one or both of us recall'd to answer them; in which case his chief object would be answered of having us displaced like himself. I shall prepare my answer directly; but I wish for your opinion, whether it will be most prudent to forward it immediately, or wait 'till we hear from Congress; and as this is an address to the People, whether an answer also should not be given to the people besides what is sent to Congress. On these two points I beg your answer directly. Tell me also the present disposition of Spain with respect to America. We are so-so in health, and impatient to hear of your recovery. We send you in the meantime our best wishes. Farewell.

Ford's Letters of William Lee, page 516.

From John Langdon.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Feb. 9th, 1779.

Sir,—I intended to have wrote you 'ere this, but my being sensible matters of greater moment would engrose your attention prevented. I am now induced

to it the more when I see in the Publick Prints such misrepresentation of the facts on the side of Mr. Paine; think it no more than common Justice, and a Duty owed to civil Society, that Truth should take place, and the more so here, when I see a Gentleman who was employed in one of the first Departments of these States, treated rudely (in my Opinion) in the Publick Prints. I was very sorry that any occasion was given for your Publication, as it has a tendency to lessen the Influence of these States; but as I do not know the whole of the Reasons, am not a Judge of it, what comes within the circle of my Knowledge is: that the Amphatrite, Mercury, Flammand, Mere Bobie, and Dutchess of Gramm all arrived at this place, and their Cargoes, for the use of the United States, passed thro' my Hands as Agent, and it gives me pleasure to Inform you that not a single officer among the many that arrived here but what spoke of your proceed'gs in the Politest Terms, and from what I could collect from every circumstance am fully satisfied that many seasonable supplies for the States were owing to your Influence and Conduct. If I may compare small things with great, I can see, by many Instances in my small Department, that where the Publick are to be served some discretionary Powers are necessary. At the Time you went to France, when every thing was new, and Brick to be made without Straw, there could be no doubt but you were to do such & such things in the best manner you could, and, no doubt, many things that were done was disagreeable to you, but yet necessary to bring about the thing proposed. You'll pardon me for the Liberty I have taken in writing thus freely, but our former Friendly acquaintence has often made me say in these late Disputes that I knew of no Man at that Time (without any disparagement to others) that was better Calculated to Negotiate Affairs with Foreign Powers, for this served as answer to many, who would ask, *what sort of a Man is he.* That all Disputes may be

happily settled to the satisfaction of the States, and to your Honor and Advantage, is the sincere desire of

Yours, Respectfully,

JOHN LANGDON.

P. S.—I have wrote to France Respecting furnishing the French Navy with Masts. I shall be much obliged if you'll mention it when you write to any proper Person that you may think of.

The Hon'ble Silas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

JOHN ADAMS' OPINION OF DEANE'S ADDRESS.

DIARY, 1779, *February* 8. In conversation with Dr. Franklin in the morning, I gave him my opinion of Mr. Deane's Address to the people of America with great freedom, and, perhaps, with too much warmth. I told him that it was one of the most wicked and abominable productions that ever sprang from a human heart; that there was no safety in integrity against such a man; that I should wait upon the Count de Vergennes and the other ministers, and see in what light they considered this conduct of Mr. Deane; that, if they and their representatives in America were determined to countenance and support by their influence such men and measures in America, it was no matter how soon the alliance was broke; that no evil could be greater, nor any government worse, than the toleration of such conduct. No one was present but the Doctor and his grandson.

In the evening I told Dr. Bancroft, to the same effect, that the address appeared to me in a very atrocious light; that, however difficult Mr. Lee's temper might be, in my opinion he was an honest man, and had the utmost fidelity towards the United States; that such a contempt of Congress, committed in the city where they sit, and the publication of such accusations in the face of the universe so false and ground-

less, as the most heinous of them appeared to me, these accusations attempted to be colored by such frivolous tittle-tattle, such accusations made too by a man who has been in high trust against two others who were still so, appeared to me evidence of such a complication of vile passions, of vanity, arrogance, and presumption, of malice, envy, and revenge, and at the same time of such wickedness, indiscretion, and folly, as ought to unite every honest and wise man against him; that there appeared to me no alternative but the ruin of Mr. Deane or the ruin of his country; that he appeared to me in the light of a wild boar, that ought to be hunted down for the benefit of mankind; that I would start fair with him, Dr. Bancroft, and give him notice that I had hitherto been loth to give up Mr. Deane, but that this measure of his appeared to me to be so decisive against him that I have given him up to Satan to be buffeted.

In all this it is easy to see there is too much declamation, but the substantial meaning of it is such as appears to me exactly true, and such as I will abide by, unless future evidence, which I don't expect, should convince me of any error in it.

February 9. On Dr. Franklin the eyes of all Europe are fixed, as the most important character in American affairs in Europe; neither Lee nor myself are looked upon of much consequence. The attention of the Court seems most to Franklin, and no wonder; his long and great reputation, to which Lee's and mine are in their infancy, are enough to account for this; his age and real character render it impossible for him to search every thing to the bottom, and Lee, with his privy council, is ever more contriving; the result of their contrivances render many measures more difficult.

February 11. It is my indispensable duty to tell the Count de Vergennes that I think one great cause of this horrid address of Mr. Deane is Mr. Franklin's certificate in his favor that he is an able and faithful

negotiator, and that Mr. Franklin was deceived in this; that Mr. Franklin's knowledge, actually in America, for a great many years, has not been long; that he was upright in this, but deceived; that there are certain and infallible proofs of vanity, presumption, ambition, avarice, and folly, in Mr. Deane as to render him very unworthy of confidence, and therefore that Dr. Franklin has been deceived.

February 12. My mind has been in such a state, since the appearance of Mr. Deane's Address to the People, as it never was before. I confess it appeared to me like a dissolution of the constitution. It should be remembered that it first appeared from London in the English papers; then in the Courier de l'Europe; and we had not received the proceedings of Congress upon it. A few days after, Dr. Franklin received from Nantes some Philadelphia papers, in which were the pieces signed Senex and Common Sense, and the account of the election of the new President, Mr. Jay. When it was known that Congress had not censured Mr. Deane for appealing to the people, it was looked upon as the most dangerous proof that had ever appeared of the weakness of government, and it was thought by some that the confederation was wholly lost. I confess it appeared terrible to me indeed; it appeared to me that it would wholly lose us the confidence of the French Court. I did not see how they could ever trust any of us again; that it would have the worst effects upon Spain, Holland, and in England, besides endangering a civil war in America. In the agony of my heart I expressed myself to one gentleman, Dr. Bancroft, with perhaps too much warmth. But this day Dr. Winship arrived here from Brest, and soon afterwards the aid-de-camp du Marquis de Lafayette, with despatches from Congress, by which it appears that Dr. Franklin is sole plenipotentiary, and of consequence that I am displaced. The greatest relief to my mind that I have ever found since the appearance of the address. Now business

may be done by Dr. Franklin alone ; before, it seemed as if nothing could be done.

Life and Works of John Adams, III. 187.

Frankfort on the Main in Germany.
10 February, 1779.

My dear Brother,— . . . The enclosed papers will speak for themselves, but I am decidedly of opinion that the British agents, the mortal enemies of America, do not wish for anything better at this moment than appeals to the people at large against Congress. I wish you would not only consult my particular friends, but even Congress itself, before you publish either of the enclosed papers. However, I wish you to communicate them to Congress ; and if it is thought decent and proper that either of them should be published, I should wish the address to the public to be published first, and then if Mr. Deane renews his assertions, publish the affidavit.

A full statement shall be transmitted very soon, but in the meanwhile let me intreat you as much as possible to prevent all cabals or parties from obstructing the necessary measures for your security and defence against the horrid machinations of the British ministry and their agents.

As to myself having never solicited anything from Congress, and my present appointments being at first not only highly disagreeable to myself, but, I am sure, contrary to the wishes of my real friends, yet, being now engaged in the political line, as long as I can be of service to my country I shall have no objection to continuing in it ; however, if Congress shall have determined otherwise, I shall submit without repining.

It must, I should think, at first sight have struck every mind that Mr. Deane, exasperated at his disgrace in being recalled, wished to have those he calls his Enemies put on the same footing ; therefore he

hazards the most audacious falsehoods to get my brother and myself recalled to answer them; in which his chief point would be carried, and he himself when proved guilty of being a false accuser could not be more infamous than he already is.

Remember, I pray you, not to let any of his accounts for the expenditure of the publick money finally pass without the most authentic vouchers; upon proper inquiry into this business, I can boldly assert that most infamous transactions will be brought to light. From the apprehension arises Mr. Deane's and Dr. Franklin's mortal hatred to my brother and myself.

Pray call upon the President, Mr. Laurens, to inform Congress of what he has received relative to Mr. Deane from Mr. Lloyd, his friend, from the information of Mr. Carmichael, and what Mr. Izard has wrote relative to Dr. Franklin. . . .

Ford's Letters of William Lee, page 521.

John Adams to Count de Vergennes.

Passy, February 11, 1779.

Sir,—As your excellency reads English perfectly well, my first request is that you would do me the favor to read this without a translation, after which I submit it to your excellency to make what use of it you shall think proper.

I have hitherto avoided in my single capacity giving your excellency any trouble by letter or conversation; but the present emergency demands that I shall ask the favor to explain my sentiments either by letter or in person. If you will permit a personal interview, I am persuaded I can make myself understood. If you prefer a correspondence, I will lay open my heart in writing before your excellency.

It is the address to the people in America under the name of Mr. Silas Deane that has occasioned this boldness in me. It is to me the most unexpected and un-

foreseen event that has happened. I hope your excellency will not conclude from thence that I despair of the commonwealth. Far otherwise. I know that the body of the people in the United States stand immovable against Great Britain ; and I hope that this address of Mr. Deane's (although it will occasion much trouble to individuals) will produce no final detriment to the common cause ; but, on the contrary, that it will occasion so thorough an investigation of several things as will correct many abuses.

It is my indispensable duty upon this occasion to inform your excellency, without consulting either of my colleagues, that the honorable Arthur Lee was as long ago as 1770 appointed by the house of representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, of which I had then the honor to be a member, their agent at the court of London in case of the death or absence of Dr. Franklin. This honorable testimony was given to Mr. Lee by an assembly in which he had no natural interest, on account of his inflexible attachment to the American cause, and of the abilities of which he had given many proofs in its defense. From that time to the year 1774 he held a constant correspondence with several of those gentlemen, who stood foremost in the Massachusetts Bay against the innovations and illegal encroachments of Great Britain. This correspondence I had an opportunity of seeing, and I assure your excellency from my own knowledge that it breathed the most inflexible attachment and the most ardent zeal in the cause of his country. From September, 1774, to November, 1777, I had the honor to be in Congress, and the opportunity to see his letters to Congress, to their committees, and to several of their individual members. Through the whole of both these periods he communicated the most constant and certain intelligence which was received from any individual within my knowledge, and since I have had the honor to be joined with him here I have ever found in him the same fidelity and zeal, and have not a glimmering of suspicion that he ever maintained

an improper correspondence in England or held any conference or negotiation with anybody from thence without communicating it to your excellency and to his colleagues. I am confident, therefore, that every insinuation and suspicion against him of infidelity to the United States, or to their engagements with his majesty, is false and groundless, and will assuredly be proved to be so.

The two honorable brothers of Mr. Lee, who are members of Congress, I have long and intimately known; and of my own knowledge I can say that no men have discovered more zeal in support of the sovereignty of the United States and in promoting from the beginning a friendship and alliance with France, and there is nothing of which I am more firmly persuaded than that every insinuation that is thrown out to the disadvantage of the two Mr. Lees in Congress is groundless. It would be too tedious to enter at present into a more particular consideration of that address. I shall therefore conclude this letter, already too long, by assuring your excellency that I am, with the most entire consideration, your most, etc.

JOHN ADAMS.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 42.

COUNT DE VERGENNES TO JOHN ADAMS.

[Translation.]

Versailles, February 13, 1779.

SIR,—I have received the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me the 11th instant, and agreeable to your desire I have not submitted its contents to the inspection of a translator. I am no less concerned than yourself, sir, at the appeal which Mr. Silas Deane has made to the people of America. It does not belong to me to qualify this step; your respective sovereigns must judge of the measure, and decide the differences which have arisen between their commis-

sioners. The manner in which you have been treated here, conjointly and separately, must have convinced you that if we had been informed of your disputes we should have paid no regard to them, and the personal esteem which we have endeavored to show each of the commissioners is a proof that we have not adopted the prejudices with which it seems it has been endeavored to inspire America, and the foundation of which is unknown to us.

Although this disagreeable disunion is foreign to us, and it becomes us by all means to refrain from taking part therein, I shall not be the less pleased to see you, sir; and whatever day you fix will be agreeable to me. I only request you to acquaint me beforehand with the time you shall choose.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 46.

JOHN ADAMS TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Passy, February 14, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Marquis de la Fayette did me the honor of a visit yesterday, and delivered me your favor of the 25th of October. I am not sorry, as things have been ordered, that mine of May 24 did not reach you till the 24th of October, because as the new arrangement was previously made, it cannot be said that I had any hand in accomplishing it. Yet I am glad the letter has arrived, because it will show that the new system is quite agreeable to me—that is, the appointment of a single minister here. Believe me, sir, it was become very necessary.

How Congress will dispose of me I do not know. If it is intended that I shall return, this will be very agreeable to me; and I think that this is the most probable opinion, because Mr. Deane's "address" was on the 5th of December. Congress soon after resolved

to enter on foreign affairs and go through them. The *Alliance* sailed on the 14th of January, and there is no resolution arrived here respecting me. I think, therefore, that it is my duty to return, and that is my present determination; but whether I shall go to Amsterdam, and from thence to St. Eustatia, or to Spain and thence home, or in a French man-of-war to Martinique, or an American frigate to America, I have not decided. Some hint that I am to go to Holland, others to Spain. This last implies the removal of Mr. Lee, which would give me much pain on many accounts. I think him a faithful man and able. Yet what the determination will be upon the complaint of Mr. Deane I cannot say. This is a subject which I can not write or talk about. I would not feel such another sensation to be made a prince. I confess I expected the most dismal consequences from it, because I thought it would render business and confidence between us three totally impracticable; that it would destroy all confidence between this court and us, and that it would startle Spain; that it would alienate many in Holland from us, and that it would encourage the ministry in England and disconcert opposition so much that they would even make another vigorous campaign, besides all the evils it would produce among you. But the arrival of Dr. Franklin's commission has relieved me from many of these fears. This court has confidence in him alone. But I think they were cautious, even of him, when he had two colleagues to whom he was obliged to communicate every thing, one of whom was upon as bad terms with him as with Mr. Deane. I have had a kind of a task here, as Mr. Lovell expresses himself; determined to be the partisan of neither, yet to be the friend of both, as far as the service would admit. I am fixed in these two opinions, that leaving the doctor here alone is right, and that Mr. Lee is a very honest and faithful man.

You say that France should be our polar star in case war should take place. I was, I confess, surprised at this expression. Was not war sufficiently declared in

the King of England's speech, and in the answers of both houses, and in the recall of his embassador? Has it not been sufficiently declared by actual hostilities in most parts of the world? I suspect there will never be any other declaration of war. Yet there is in fact as complete a war as ever existed, and it will continue; for you may depend upon it, the King of France is immovably fixed in your support, and so are his ministers. Every suspicion of a wavering disposition in this court concerning the support of American independence is groundless, is ridiculous, is impossible. You may remember that several years ago several gentlemen were obliged to reason to show that American independence was the interest of France. Since my arrival in this kingdom I never yet found one man, nor heard of more than one, who doubted it. If the voice of popularity is anything, I assure you that this voice was never so unanimous in America in favor of our independence as it is here. It is so much so, that if the court were to depart from its present system in this respect it is my clear opinion it would make this nation very unhappy, and the court too; but I again repeat, that the court is as fixed as the nation. And this union of sentiment arises out of such principles of nature as, without a miracle, can not alter. Common sense in America supported independence; common sense in France supports the alliance, and will support it to the last. Nay, the common sense of Europe supports the common sense of France.

By the way, my regards to Mr. Paine, and tell him that I do not agree with him in his ideas about natural enemies. It is because England is the natural enemy of France that America in her present situation is her natural friend; at least this is one cause, although there are many others. Some of them are more glorious for human nature.

France scarcely ever made a war before that was popular in Europe. There is not a state that I can hear of but applauds her and wishes her success. And

in point of finance and naval strength, and in skill and bravery of officers, she seems to be superior to England. You may be surprised to hear me say naval strength, yet if you consider the wretched state of the British navy as to masts, yards, rigging, and men, you will not wonder, although their number of ships may be superior. I therefore think that all is safe. We may have further trouble and trials of our faith and patience. But trouble is to you and me familiar, and I begin to think it necessary for my health.

There is one thing in my letter to you exaggerated, the expenses of the commissioners. I had been here but a short time, and wrote according to the best guess I could make from what I heard; but I now think I put it much too high, yet I can not say exactly.

February 20. There is not the least appearance of the embarkation of troops for America, nor any intelligence of transports taken up. The national discontent is great, and tumults have arisen in Edinburgh and London. Acccording to present appearances, they will have occasion for so many of their troops to keep their populace in order as to be able to spare few in America. Their proclamations are all alike, from Burgoyne's to those of the commissioners. The weaker they are, the more they puff.

I am, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 47.

JOHN ADAMS TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Passy, February 16, 1779.

SIR,—Last evening I had the honor of your letter of the 13th of this month in answer to mine of the 11th.

I thank your excellency for the politeness with which you have agreed to my proposition of a confer-

ence upon the subject of Mr. Deane's "Address to the People of the United States."

At the time when my letter of the 11th was written and sent to your excellency there were three commissioners here, representatives of Congress, between whom it appeared to me Mr. Deane's address had a tendency to destroy all confidence, as well as between your excellency and them, for which reason I thought it my duty to endeavor, by a conference with your excellency, to lessen those evils as far as should be in my power.

But within a few hours after my letter of the 11th was sent, the aid-de-camp of the Marquis de la Fayette arrived, with dispatches from Congress to Dr. Franklin, and from their committee of foreign affairs to me, informing me of the new arrangement by which Dr. Franklin is constituted minister plenipotentiary here, and I am restored to the character of a private citizen; so wholly changed are the scene and the characters here that I now think I have no right to do what, if I had continued in the character of a commissioner here, I should have thought it my indispensable duty to do.

This masterly measure of Congress, which has my most hearty approbation, and of the necessity of which I was fully convinced before I had been two months in Europe, has taken away the possibilities of those dissensions which I so much apprehended. I shall not, therefore, give your excellency any further trouble than to take an opportunity of paying my respects in order to take leave, and to assure you that I shall leave this kingdom with the most entire confidence in his majesty's benevolence to the United States, and inviolable adherence to the treaties between the two powers, with a similar confidence in the good disposition of his majesty's ministers of state and of this nation towards us, and with a heart impressed with gratitude for the many civilities which I have received in the short space I have resided here, at court, in the

city, and in the country, and particularly from your excellency.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 50.

THOMAS PAINE TO SILAS DEANE.

To SILAS DEANE, *Esquire.*

As character, like trade, is subject to bankruptcy, so nothing sooner discovers its approach than a frequent necessity of borrowing. I introduce this remark to explain, what I conceive to be, the motive that induced Mr. Deane, in his address of January 26th, in the Pennsylvania Packet, to blend his own affairs with those of General Washington and the President of this State. Those who have read that address, will easily perceive that the allusions are too far fetched to be natural and the design too obvious to be effectual.

Let Mr. Deane and his affairs stand on their own merits or fall, in proportion to their own defects. If he has done well, he needs no borrowed credit; if he has done ill, the attempt will only precipitate disgrace. Why should matters be involved with matter, between which there is neither affinity or correspondence? You may, it is true, confine them together in the same letter, like fluids of different weights or repulsive qualities in the same phial; and though by convulsing you may represent a compound, yet the parts having no mutual propensity to union, will separate in a state of rest.

Mr. Deane in his address before mentioned, says, that he "is fully confident that every intrigue and cabal formed against our illustrious Commander in Chief will prove as ineffectual as those formed against Dr. Franklin." This declaration comes with an ill grace from a man who not only threw out a proposal, but impliedly recommended a German Prince, Prince Ferdinand, to Congress, to take on him the command of

the American army; and Mr. Deane can best explain whether the declaration he now makes is to be considered as an act of *pennance* or *consummate effrontry*.

But Prince Ferdinand is not the only one whom Mr. Deane has slily intimated to Congress for a Commander in Chief, neither dares he either personally or in writing contradict me; he has, it is true, set Philalethes to do it, but he dares not do it himself; and, I would ask, what sort of principles must that man be governed by, who will impose on the ignorance of another to advance a falsehood for him?

No belief or dependence can be placed in him, who, through the agency of another, will deny his own handwriting; and that I may not appear even to intimate a charge without a sufficient foundation, I shall furnish the public with an extract from Mr. Deane's letter to the Foreign Committee, dated Paris, December 6th, 1776.

"I submit the thought to you, whether if you could engage a great General of the highest character in Europe, such, for instance, as *Prince Ferdinand*, or M— B—, [Marshal Broglie] or *others* of equal rank, to take the *lead* of your armies, whether such a step would not be politic; as it would give a character and credit to your military, and strike perhaps a greater terror into our enemies. I only suggest the thought, and leave you to confer with B—— K—— [Baron De Kalb] on the subject at large."

S. Deane.

Yet the writer of this letter is the same Mr. S. Deane, who, in his address of Jan. 26th, in the Pennsylvania Packet, says, that "he is fully confident that every intrigue and cabal formed against our illustrious Commander in Chief will prove as ineffectual as those formed against Doctor Franklin."

What Mr. Deane means by *cabals* formed against Dr. Franklin, I am wholly unacquainted with. I know of none. I have heard of none. Neither has Mr. Deane any right to blend himself with that gen-

tleman any more than with General Washington. Mr. Deane will never be Dr. Franklin, nor Dr. Franklin Mr. Deane. They are constitutionally different both in principle and practice; and if my suspicions of Mr. Deane are true, he will, in a little time, be as strongly reprobated by his *venerable friend* * as by either of the Mr. Lees or Mr. Izard. The course of this letter will explain what I mean without either suggestion or implication.

Omitting in this place Mr. Deane's last address as a matter of very little importance, I now mean to draw his hitherto confused affairs to a closer investigation than I have ever yet done.

The continental public, who can have no other object in view than to distinguish right from wrong, will have their minds and their ears open, and unfettered by prejudice or selfish interest, will form their judgment as matters and circumstances shall appear. Mr. Deane may interestedly inlink himself with Members of Congress, or with persons out of it, till involved with them, and they with him, they mutually become the pillows and bolsters of each other to prevent a general discovery. With such men reasoning has no effect. They seek not to be *right* but to be *triumphant;* and the same thirst of interest that induced them to the commission of one crime, will provoke them to a new one, in order to insure success and defeat detection. There are men, in all countries, in whom both vice and virtue are kept subordinate by a kind of cowardice, which often forms a great part of that natural character stiled *moderation.* But this is not the case with Mr. Deane. His conduct since his return to America has been excessive. His address to the public of Dec. 5th is marked with every feature of extraordinary violence. His inventions to support himself have been numerous, and such as honesty did not require; and having thus

* Mr. Deane in his address of December 5th carefully shelters himself under Doctor Franklin by the stile of his "venerable friend."

relinquished all pretentions to a moderate character, he must of consequence be looked for in one or other of the extremes of *good* or *bad*.

Several things however are certain in Mr. Deane. He has made a rich and prosperous voyage to France, and whether fairly or unfairly he has yet to answer for.

He has wrote and been concerned in the writing of letters which contradict each other.

He has acted a double part towards his brother Commissioners in France, Doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee, Esq., as appears by a comparison of his own letters with those of the Commissioners jointly, of which himself was one.

He has given the public no information of the loss of the dispatches of Oct. 6 and 7, 1777, nor of any circumstances attending it, notwithstanding he can but know that he lies under a strong suspicion of having embezzled them himself or of his being privy thereto, in order to prevent a discovery of his double dealings, and to promote the payment of a very large sum of money. To all those matters I shall speak as I proceed.

Mr. Deane first made choice of the public papers, and I have only followed him therein. The people sufficiently feel that something is wrong, and not knowing where it lies, they know not where to fix their confidence, and every public man undergoes a share of their suspicions. Let it therefore come out, be it where it will, so that men and measures being properly known, trust and tranquility be again restored. It has strangely happened, that wherever Mr. Deane has been, there has been confusion. It is so in France. It is so here. The Commissioners, in that country, were as much disjointed as the Congress in this; and such being the case, let every man's conduct answer for itself.

In the Pennsylvania Packet of January 2d, I acquainted the public with the loss of the dispatches of October 6th and 7th, and gave such an account of that affair as had been related to me while at York-

town ; namely, that they were stolen by some British emissary in France, and carried over to the enemy in England. The account was far from being properly authenticated ; however, I chose to give it, in order to see what notice Mr. Deane would take of it. He let it pass in silence, and I observed that I was immediately after attacked from all quarters at once, as if emboldened to it by the account I had given and appeared to believe. As their publications were of use to me, I thought it best to reserve my suspicions, excepting to a few particular friends, as well in Congress as out.

In the Pennsylvania Packet of January 26, I, for the first time in public, informed Mr. Deane of my suspicions thereon in the following words :

" Every day opens something new. The dispatches of October, 1777, which were said to be stolen, are now believed by some, and conjectured by others, *not to be* in *the hands of the enemy*. Philalethes (in the Pennsylvania Packet of January 23) says, that they contained no such secret as I have pretended. How does he know what secret I have pretended, as I have not disclosed any, or ever will? The duplicates of those despatches have arrived since, and have been in my hands, and I can say thus much, that they contain a paragraph, which is, I think, a flat contradiction to one-half what Mr. Deane wrote while a separate agent ; and if he, when in conjunction with his colleagues, had to sign that which disagreed with what he had before written and declared since, it was *fortunate for him that the dispatches were stolen*, unfortunate that the duplicates arrived. In short, had Mr. Deane, or his friend W. D. in Mr. Holt's paper of the 11th instant (January) one-half as much cause for suspicion as I have, concerning the loss of those dispatches, they would ground thereon a heavy and positive charge."

On the appearance of this intimation, Mr. Deane and every other of my opponents unanimously deserted the news-papers, and suffered it to pass unnoticed. I have waited three weeks to afford Mr.

Deane an opportunity of removing the suspicions alluded to, and to furnish the public with what he might know on that subject. He has not done it. I shall therefore lay open the principal circumstances on which that intimation was founded.

In a country so rich, extensive and populous as France, there can be no cause to doubt either the ability or inclination of the wealthier inhabitants to furnish America with a gratuitous supply of money, arms, and ammunition. The English had supplied the Corsicans, by a subscription opened for that purpose in London, and the French might as consistently do the same by America. I, therefore, think it unnecessary to say any thing farther on this point than to inform, that in the spring 1776, a subscription was raised in France to send a present to America of two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, arms, and ammunition. And all that the suppliers wanted to know was, through what channel it should be remitted. The place was fixed upon.

Having said thus much, I think it necessary to mention, that if Congress chuse to call upon me for my proofs, which I presume they will not do, I am ready to advance them. I do not publish this in contradiction to their resolution of January 12th, because that refers to supposed presents from the crown only, which is a subject I never touched upon; and though Congress have thought proper to introduce my name therein, and perverted my expressions, to give a countenance thereto, I leave it to their own judgment, &c., to take it out again. I believe future Congresses will derive no honour from that resolution. And on my own part, I conceive that the literary services I have hitherto rendered, and that without the least profit or reward, deserved from that body a different treatment, even if I had in this instance been wrong. But the envy of some little and ungenerous wits in that House will never subside.

Soon after this offer was made, Mr. Deane was sent

to France as a Commercial Agent under the authority of the Committee which was then stiled "The Committee for Secret Correspondence," and since changed to that of "The Committee for Foreign Affairs."

On Mr. Deane's arrival at Paris, the whole affair took a new ground, and he entered, according to his own account, into, what he calls, a *commercial concern*, with Mr. Beaumarchais of Paris, for the same quantity of supplies which had been before offered as a present, and that through the same person of whom Mr. Deane now says he purchased them. It may not be improper in this place to mention that Mr. Beaumarchais was only an agent on the part of the suppliers, as Mr. Deane was an agent on the part of the receivers.

In December following (1776), Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, Esq., arrived likewise in Paris, under a new commission, appointing them, together with Silas Deane, Esq., joint Commissioners from the United States. Yet it does not appear that Mr. Deane made either of those gentlemen acquainted with the particulars of any commercial contract made between him and Mr. Beaumarchais, neither did he ever send a copy of any such to Congress or to the Committee for foreign affairs.

In September, 1777, Mr. Francy set off from France to America, as an agent from Mr. Beaumarchais, to demand and settle the mode of payment for those supplies. Yet the departure, as well as the business of this gentleman, appears to have been concealed from Dr. Franklin and Mr. A. Lee, and to have been known only to Mr. Deane; which must certainly be thought inconsistent and improper, as their powers were equal, and their authority a joint one.*

* In the Pennsylvania Packet of Jan. 23, in a publication signed Philalethes, is the following Certificate, viz.: "The military and other stores shipped by Roderique Hortalez and Co., *in consequence of the contract* made by them with Silas Deane, Esq., Agent for the United States of America, were shipped on board eight vessels, &c., &c., &c.

Certified at Philadelphia, this 13th day of January, 1779.

L. de Francy,

representing the House of Roderique Hortalez & Co."

Whether this certificate was published with or without the consent of M.

That Mr. Deane was privy to it, is proved by his sending a letter by Mr. Francy, dated Paris, Sept. 10th, 1777, recommending him as Mr. Beaumarchais's agent, and pressing the execution of the business which he came upon. And that it was unknown to Doctor Franklin and Mr. A. Lee is circumstantially evidenced by Mr. Francy bringing with him no dispatches from the Commissioners jointly, and is afterwards fully proved by their letter of the 16th of Feb. following in which they say, "*We hear* Mr. Beaumarchais has sent over a person to demand a large sum of money of you on account of arms, ammunition, &c. We think it will be best for you to leave that matter to be settled here (France), as there is a mixture of public and private which you cannot so well develope." And what must appear very extraordinary to the reader, is, that, notwithstanding Mr. Deane was privy to Mr. Francy's coming, and had even by letter recommended the business he came upon, yet in this joint letter of Feb. 16, 1778, he appears to know no more of the matter than they do. I have gone a little out of the order of time to take in this circumstance so curiously explanatory of Mr. Deane's double conduct.*

Nothing material appears to have happened from the time of Mr. Francy's sailing in Sept., 1777, till the 6th and 7th of Oct., 1777, following, when the

Francy is not very material. But as my only design is to come at the *truth of things*, I am necessarily obliged to take notice of it. And the course of the publication I now give will, I presume, furnish M. Francy with circumstances which he must before have been unacquainted with.

This certificate says, "That the supplies were shipped by Roderique Hortalez & Co., *in consequence of a contract made by them with Silas Deane, Esq.*" I know that Mr. Roderique Hortalez was employed, or appeared to be so, by some public spirited gentlemen in France to offer a present to America, and I have seen a contract for *freightage* made with Mr. Monthieu, but I know of no *contract* for the supplies themselves. If there is such a contract, Mr. Deane has concealed it; and why he has done so must appear as extraordinary as that he made it.

N. B. Mr. Beaumarchais and R. Hortalez are one and the same person.

* The Committee for foreign affairs in their first letter to the Commissioners after Mr. Francy's arrival, say, "We thinkit strange that the Commissioners did not *jointly* write by Mr. Francy, considering the very important designs of his coming over, viz., to settle the mode of payment for the past cargoes, sent by Roderique Hortalez and Co., and to make contracts for future. It is certain, that much eclaircissment (Explanation) is, at this late moment, wanting."

dispatches of those dates were lost, and blank white paper sent to Congress in their stead.

I must request the reader in this place to take his stand and review the part Mr. Deane had acted. He had negociated a profered present into a purchase; and I have quoted letters to show, that though he was privy to Mr. Francy's coming over for the money, he had, nevertheless, concealed it from his colleagues, and was consequently obliged, when acting in conjunction with them, to know nothing of the matter, and to concur with them in forming such dispatches as they might have authority to do, notwithstanding such dispatches might contradict, or tend to expose himself. He had at least the chance of the seas in his favour.

The dispatches of Oct. 6 and 7, 1777 (as appear by the duplicates which have since arrived) were of this kind; and are, as far as letters can be, positive evidence against Mr. Deane's accounts. The one is a single letter from the Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq., and the other a joint letter from B. Franklin, S. Deane and A. Lee, of Oct. 7th. That of the 6th gives a circumstantial account in what manner the present was first offered, and the latter declares, "*That for the money and military stores already given no remittance will ever be required.*" But Mr. Francy was sent off with Mr. Deane's single letter to demand the money; what then was to be done with those dispatches? Had they arrived, Congress would have had a line to go by—and as they did not, they had nothing but Mr. Deane's single letter, and pretended contract with Mr. Beaumarchais to govern them.

I shall now relate such circumstances as I am acquainted with concerning the loss of those dispatches, by which the reader will see that the theft could only be committed by some bosom apostate.

When the supposed dispatches were brought to York-town by Capt. Folger, who came with them from France, they consisted of a packet for Congress of nearly the size of a half sheet, another for Robert Mor-

ris, Esq., of about the same size, another for Mr. Barnaby Deane, brother to Silas Deane, of about the same size, a smaller one from Mr. Arthur Lee to his brother, Col. R. H. Lee, besides letters and some small parcels to different persons, private, and another packet, which I shall mention afterwards. The packet for Congress and that for Col. R. H. Lee had both been robbed of every article of their contents, and filled up with blank white paper; that for Mr. Morris and Mr. Barnaby Deane came safe with all their contents. Whoever was the thief, must know exactly what to take and what to leave; otherwise the packet for Mr. Morris and Mr. Barnaby Deane must have been equally as tempting as that to Col. Lee; or rather more so, because they were more bulky and promising. In short, the theft discovers such an intimate knowledge of the contents, that it could only be done, or directed to be done by some person originally concerned in the writing of them. None of the packets or letters that came safe contained a single article of intelligence, except a letter from Doctor Franklin to myself, dated the same day of the dispatches; in which he says, "*Our affairs, so far as they are connected with this country, are every day more promising.*" I received this letter at Lancaster through the favour of the then President, *Henry Laurens, Esq.*, and returned it again to him to be communicated to Congress; and this, as I have before mentioned, was the only article of information which Congress received from May, 1777, to May, 1778. Which may now be set down as another extraordinary circumstance.

Among the packets was likewise a large handsome one directed to Mr. Hancock, who, at the time the dispatches were written, was President of Congress, and this would undoubtedly have been a greater inducement to a British emissary than that directed to Col. R. H. Lee; yet this packet, which was only on private business, was likewise suffered to come in safety. But how, I ask, should any British emissary know that it contained no information?

There are two ways by which this theft might be committed, viz. either by changing the packets, and placing blank ones in their stead, by the assistance of a counterfeit seal, (and why not as well counterfeit a seal as counterfeit *Common Sense*) or by opening them, and filling the cover up with blank paper. In the first of those cases, the person must know how to imitate, and in either of them he must know which to select.

Mr. Deane, through his advocate Philalethes, in the Pennsylvania Packet of January 23d, says, in substance, *that as neither the King of England's speech in November, 1777, nor yet any ministerial information to Parliament through the course of that session, discover any knowledge of any secret supposed to be contained in those dispatches, that it is, therefore,* A PROOF THAT THEY CONTAINED NO SECRET. But, surely, Mr. Deane will not be hardy enough to deny the contents of the dispatches which himself was concerned in forming, and is now suspected of suppressing? This would be such a refinement upon treachery, that I know of no law which provides for the case. I shall, therefore, in this place, content myself with answering to Philalethes generally, that he himself knows nothing of their contents, and that the silence of the British King and Ministry is a circumstantial evidence, that they have *not got the dispatches,* and that they were lost for some other purpose. One thing, however, we are certain of, viz. that the loss of them, in any case, answered at that time the money purpose which Mr. Deane had in view, by giving an oportunity to his single letter by Mr. Francy, and the business that gentleman came upon, to arrive at Congress, instead of the dispatches.

It is true, that the duplicates were brought over by Mr. Deane's brother, Mr. Simeon Deane, with the treaty of alliance; but it would have been too barefaced to have had them stolen out of *his* hands, and the treaty left behind. Besides which, it was reasonable to suppose that Congress had before that, resolved upon, and settled the mode of payment, and that their attention to

the great object of the treaty would make them inattentive to duplicates of a prior date, which appears to have been the case.

But it was Folger's hard fate to be confined, partly in prison, and partly on parole, nearly five months, on account of those dispatches; he was at last set at liberty, because nothing could be found against him more than that he appeared to be a blundering soul, and therefore a proper person to pitch upon to bring over blank dispatches, as his probable inattention might afford a wilderness to the theft committed by others.

The public have now a clear line of circumstances before them, and though Mr. Deane may deny the fact, it becomes him likewise to remove the suspicions, which I am certain he cannot do without denying the letters I have quoted.

In his address of December 5th, he set out with a falsehood, by declaring that the "*ears of the representatives* (in Congress) *were shut against him*," and though the charge was unjust, as appears by the journals, yet, so lost are that body to the dignity of the States they represent, that they not only suffered the accusation to pass unquestioned, but invited him, at the public expence, to their next public entertainment on the 6th of February. It was the disgraceful submission of Congress to Mr. Deane's false accusation that was the real cause why the late President, *Henry Laurens, Esq.*, quitted the chair, and the same cause promoted the present President, Mr. Jay to it. The secrecy which Congress imposes upon themselves is become a cloak for their misconduct, and as I wish to see a Congress such as America might be proud to own, and the enemy afraid to trifle with, it is full time for the States to know the conduct of their members, that they may make that body such as they would wish it to be. An evil cured is better than an evil concealed and suffocated.

I shall conclude this paper with mentioning another circumstance or two, in which Mr. Deane's reputation appears to be involved.

In his address of December 5th he informed the public that, "About the time the news arrived in France of General Burgoyne's surrender Mr. Arthur Lee's Secretary went to and from London, charged with affairs which were secret to the other Commissioners," meaning himself and Doctor Franklin; and on this ground, unsupported by any kind of evidence, Mr. Deane endeavours to have the public believe that Mr. Lee gave information to the British Court of the intended Treaty.

That Mr. Lee sent his Secretary to some sea-port towns in England is very true, and that he did not acquaint Mr. Deane with the reasons or the business is as true. Mr. Deane had been a traitor to Mr. Lee, and broke open and suppressed some confidential information of Mr. Lee's to Congress some considerable time before. I do not, in this place, mean the dispatches of October 6th and 7th, 1777, but another affair; and the original letter, which I here allude to, has likewise been in my hands since the time Mr. Deane broke it open.

But it is no proof that because Mr. Deane did not know the business, that Dr. Franklin might not, or that others did not. Mr. Deane never gave a line of authentic information to Congress respecting the condition of the enemy's fleet, their strength, weakness or destination; or of their land force, or their politics. Mr. Lee has constantly done so, and been on that head the most industrious and best informant that America had in Europe, and that even before the Congress existed, of which I shall mention one instance, viz., by the *same vessel* that brought over the British King's instruction to Sir Francis Barnard, while Governor of Massachusetts, Mr. A. Lee, I say, *by that same vessel sent the people of Boston the particulars of those instructions.* Whereas Mr. Deane's letters are for the most part filled up with flattering compliments to himself and Mr. Beaumarchais.

But taking it for granted that the enemy knew of

the intended treaty, the question is, who informed them?

Mr. Arthur Lee had certainly no occasion to send his Secretary over to England to do it, because a private hint given to *Lord Stormont*, who was at that time at Paris as a British Ambassador, would have been much safer and more conveniently done.

Yet that it was known in London before it was executed in Paris, is a matter of which I have no doubt.

The public, or at least some of them, may recollect a letter, that was published a considerable time since, from a gentleman in London to a relation of his in this city, in which he spoke firmly of the established Independence of America, and advised the attention of his relation to *money matters;* that letter was from one of the Mr. Whartons of London, and came accidentally to sight. I mention this as a corresponding circumstance to what I am now going to relate.

I have seen, and have in my possession, an attestation of a gentleman, which declares that he saw at Mr. Wharton's, in London, a letter from Mr. Deane's secretary, and in his (the secretary's) hand-writing, dated Paris, January 27th, informing *that the Treaty of Alliance between France and America would be signed the 5th or 6th of February following, which letter likewise* recommended an *attention in money matters*, by which, I presume, is meant *Stock-jobbing* in the English funds. And I have seen another account which says *that, much about the same time, Mr. Deane remitted over to London*, 19,520 *livres.*

I shall now conclude this long letter with declaring that from the beginning of this dispute I have had no other object in view than to bring *truth to light*, in the prosecution of which I have gone contrary to my own personal interest. The opposition and insults I have met with have been numerous, yet, from an unwillingness to sacrifice public advantage to private resentment, I have thought it best to take as little notice of

them as possible. Truth, in every case, is the most reputable victory a man can gain. And if Mr. Deane has hitherto been the Jonas of the storm, I sincerely wish he may be found out, that the vessel may have relief.

As my signature, *Common-Sense*, has been counterfeited either by Mr. Deane, or some of his adherents, in Mr. Bradford's paper of February 3d, I shall subscribe this with my name.

THOMAS PAINE

Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Feb. 16, 1779

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ARTHUR LEE.

Passy, February 18, 1779.

SIR,—I have the honor to communicate to you herewith copies of resolutions of Congress of September the 11th and 14th, and October the 22d. I shall endeavor strictly to comply, on my part, with the commands of Congress contained in the letter, which are at the same time perfectly agreeable to my inclinations.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 51.

ARTHUR LEE TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Challot, February 18, 1779.

SIR,—I this moment had the honor of receiving yours of this date, containing copies of the resolutions of Congress of September the 11th and 14th, and October 22d. I shall do myself the honor of paying my compliments to you on your appointment tomorrow about 12 o'clock.

Nothing can be more agreeable to me than your intention of cultivating the harmony recommended in

the last resolve, because I always lamented the interruption of it as detrimental to the public and dishonorable to ourselves.

As Mr. Deane has used your name in his letter to the people in order to support his accusations of and invective against me, and has done the same in a piece given in by him to Congress, and by their order sent to me, to authorize the most outrageous abuse of me that can be imagined, it was my intention to have written to you to know whether this was done by your authority; but I shall not carry this intention into execution without an assurance from you that it will not prevent the promised harmony and confidence which from my heart I believe to be essential to the honor and interest of the United States. Rather, therefore, than hazard these by an act of mine, I will combat Mr. Deane's calumnies without endeavoring to take from him the appearance of your concurrence, under which he shelters himself.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed, III. 51.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ARTHUR LEE.

Passy, February 18, 1779.

SIR,—I beg you will be pleased to send me by the bearer all the public papers in your hands belonging to this department.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 52.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES LOVELL.

Passy, February 20, 1779.

. . . . . .

I can not lay aside my pen without saying that the accusations before Congress against the Messrs. Lee,

and I know not who besides, distress me beyond measure. I fear they will perpetuate altercation without bringing any great truths to light for the benefit of the public. I have sighed and mourned and wept for that intemperance of passion which I very early discovered here, without being able to soften or to cool it in the least degree. I wish I could draw the portrait of every character here as it appears in my eyes, but this would be imprudent, and if it should be known would do public mischief, full enough of which has been done already by indiscretion.

Our old incidental agent is an honest man, faithful and zealous in our cause; but there is an acrimony in his temper, there is a jealousy, there is an obstinacy, and a want of candor at times, and an affectation of secrecy, the fruit of jealousy, which renders him disagreeable often to his friends, makes him enemies, and gives them infinite advantages over him. That he has had great provocations here I never doubted, and since the appearance of the address less than ever.

There is another character here, exceedingly respectable in fortune, education, travel, honor, integrity, love of his country, and zeal in its cause, but Tacitus would say his passions are always strong, often violent, and he has not experience in public life. These two gentlemen have been very intimate, and have encouraged, no doubt, and often irritated each other. Another thing: I think that other gentleman ought not to have been here; he should have been in Italy or in America, or, being here, I really think he ought not to have interfered so much. This is simply my opinion; I may be wrong. That that gentleman thought he was doing his duty, I am clear. But of this I am pursuaded, that if he had been in Italy, things would never have gone to the lengths they have. On the other hand, most of the old connections of the doctor and Mr. Deane were filled with prejudices against those two gentlemen. One party was

striving to get the better of the other, to lower its reputation and diminish its authority.

In this chaos I found things and have been tossed in it; on the other hand, there was a monopoly of reputation here and an indecency in displaying it which did great injustice to the real merit of others that I do not wonder was resented. There was an indolence, there was a dissipation, which gave just occasion of complaint, and there was a complaisance to interested adventurers. There was an intimacy with stock-jobbers; there was an acquaintance with persons from England which gave just occasion of jealousy, however innocent the intentions were. I have learned that total silence is enough to procure a character for prudence, whatever indiscretions a man may commit.

In this state of things Congress have had the wisdom and the fortitude to do the only thing which could be done for putting matters on a better footing; but this will last a very little while if money matters are not separated from political. Some other thing must be done; some resolution must be passed forbidding every man, in the most positive terms, who has any connection with your minister here, from having any connection with English stocks, insurances, etc., and forbidding all correspondence with them. There is in England a practice of making insurances on political events which has interested the whole alley in American politics, and has thrown all into distraction.

I have been wholly without information of what was passing in Congress, and, indeed, in America, especially in Philadelphia. My friends, I know, have been engaged in doing the public business, not in strengthening the hands of individuals or parties here. But bushels of letters have come to adventurers here containing information more exact in some things, and not so true in others as they ought to be.

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Life and Works of John Adams, IX. 476.

Arthur Lee to Benj. Franklin.

Chaillot, February 21, 1779.

Sir,—Your grandson delivered to me between 10 and 12 o'clock on the 19th your letter dated the 18th, in which you desire I "will send by the bearer all the papers belonging to this department."

I have no papers belonging to the department of minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. But if you mean, sir, the papers relating to the transactions of our late joint commission, I am yet to learn, and can not conceive, on what reason or authority any one of those who were formerly in that commission can alone claim or demand possession of all the papers evidencing their transactions, in which, if they should appear to have been equally concerned, they are equally responsible.

Of these papers Mr. Deane, by his own account, has taken and secured such as he chose. The rest, a very few excepted, you have. Many of these I have never seen, but have been favored with copies. Of the few originals in my possession, there are, I know, duplicates of the most part at Passy, because it was for that reason only that I took them. The rest are evidence necessary to answer Mr. Deane's accusations which you know to be most base and false that ever the malice or wickedness of man invented.

If it were, indeed, agreed that all the papers belonging to our late commission should be brought together numbered, docketed, and deposited where the late commissioners, and they only, might have access to them, I would very readily contribute the few I have. But on no other terms can I part with them, and must, therefore, desire you to command me in some other service.

Still, however, I am in the judgment of Congress, and if upon mutual representations, should you think it worth while troubling them with, they should be of

a different opinion, I shall abide by their decision and obey their orders.

I hope your gout is better, and have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 54.

WILLIAM LEE TO ARTHUR LEE.

F[rankfor]t, 21 February, 1779.

W. Lee desires me to say that he wrote yesterday acknowledging the receipt of a card of y^e^ 12th from A. Lee, and he says further that, after the deepest reflection on facts and probabilities, as far as he knows, he cannot decide on the propriety or impropriety of going to Paris. Many certain inconveniences are foreseen, without knowing any certain good. Why has such reserve taken place in a business of such importance? It would appear from the last public accounts that Deane has been foiled in his schemes, but whether he has or not, 'tis more than probable that interested views of others may occasion the recall of W. and A. Lee. This must now be decided, and where then can be the hurry to go to work in the dark 'till the decision is known, or at least ascertained. In order to determine W. Lee going to Paris, he wishes immediately to be informed whether R[ichard] H[enry] L[ee] was at Congress when y^e^ last letters came away; when the decision was likely to be made; some account of the state of parties; will Izard give a certificate to W. and A. Lee of what he personally knows; has he been attacked by Congress or America; is he likely to continue as at present. These and other informations W. Lee wishes to have immediately, and also that his letters may be at same time forwarded; and if before they arrive he should see good reason for the jaunt and set off, no inconvenience can arise, because they

will be in good hands during his absence. Has A. Lee any idea of going to America in case of the worst? . . .

Ford's Letters of William Lee, page 523.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, February 22, 1779.

Sir,—In obedience to the orders of Congress of the 8th of December, 1777, which I received the 4th of March, 1778, I embraced the first opportunity of returning to America, and on my arrival repaired with all possible dispatch to Congress on the 13th of July last, since which time I have attended their orders in this city. I beg leave to remind Congress that early in January, 1776, I had the honor of being engaged by their committee to go as their agent to France, to transact important business for them in the commercial as well as political departments, and that I have ever since been in their service, in which I flatter myself I have been of some utility to them and to my country; but that an absence of almost four years from my family and private affairs, more than seven months of which I have waited to know their pleasure respecting me here, has so exceedingly embarrassed and distressed me, that I hope I shall not be deemed guilty of an unbecoming impatience in pressing to know if Congress have any further commands for me, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, are to be adjusted and closed. I have heretofore written repeatedly and particularly to Congress on this subject, and will not enlarge upon it at present, but have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, etc.,

Silas Deane.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 57.

From Joseph Reed.

Walnut Street [Philadelphia], Feb. 24, 1779.

Sir,—I received your Favour of yesterday and should be extremely mortified if I thought any behaviour of mine could authorize a supposition that I would treat any Gentleman rudely who favoured me with a visit. As you have not made the experiment I can venture to assure you that this is an error. My departure the other Evening had not the least reference to you, as I had appointed the Council of the State to meet at 6 o'clock and had overstayed my time. Had you not come as you did I should not have stayed so long. But I would not have you understand this as soliciting visits so long declined. If Mr. Deane chuses to lessen the number of his friends at any time, and more especially at this, I can have no right to censure or object. That he made this choice as to me some time ago, I have no doubt at present. His reasons are to me unknown, and indifferent. But so far as he served my interest, or saved me from undeserved suspicion and reproach out of regard to me, so far I feel myself obliged. But if it should hereafter appear that this measure was a weapon of private resentment, and my reputation a secondary object, I am free to say it will very much lessen the sense of obligation. Least therefore I should fail in the measure of gratitude which in duty and honour I may be bound to pay, I shall suspend all farther professions until I hear what Mr. Lee has to offer upon the subject. At all events I shall endeavour to do you complete justice, and I hope America will do so likewise.

I recollect on a transient conversation last Fall your mentioning a demand on my Brother, but hearing nothing farther from him or you, and receiving a letter from Mr. Jonath[n] Williams on the same point I concluded it was the same demand. The manner, time, and circumstances under which it is now rendered seem to me particular, and as I am well persuaded I gave him

no credit in France, but on a Mr. Rumsey for £50 St'g, and I have already had demands upon me for ten times that sum, you cannot be surprized that I should hesitate on the subject; for if they increase as they have done within 3 Months past all my little fortune will be insufficient for their satisfaction if I could in justice to myself and family appropriate it that way. Nay, so far from any authority for such advances they enabled him to counteract and defeat the purposes for which he went abroad. In this matter therefore I must wait for farther light and time to consider.

Heartily wishing you more happiness and less reproach I remain, Sir, your most obedt. Hble Servt

JOSEPH REED.

Thomas Mss.

ARTHUR LEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Paris, February 25, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,—I received the remarks of Mr. Deane, dated the 12th of October, 1778, on my letter of the 1st of June, 1778.

The banker's account proves what I said, *that millions have been expended;* but it does not prove what I wanted to be satisfied of, that the value of this expenditure has been received by the agents of Congress in Europe. Neither their receipts nor the bills of lading appeared among the papers he left at Passy. Upon a scrap of paper Mr. Deane had left notes that such and such sums were paid in general for such and such purposes. This was a manner of accounting equally mercantile and satisfactory. It was not even so explicit as the summary of the banker's account he has subjoined to the remarks I am answering. It never specified the quantity, and not often the quality, of what the sums were paid for. It was not accompanied with accounts and receipts from the persons to whom the money was said to have been paid, nor the receipts of our agent, to

whom the things must be supposed to have been delivered. It is manifest why the agent, Mr. Williams, did not, and will not, to this moment give receipts, specifying the quantity and quality of what he received for the public use, because such receipts would make him responsible to the public for their contents ; which now he is not.

This, then, is distinctly the subject of my complaint, that Mr. Deane, who assumed to himself the management of those affairs, left them in such confusion that neither was there any usual or satisfactory evidence of the things said to have been delivered, nor were there any means left of knowing how to settle the accounts that remained unpaid, so as to do justice to the public. There were no books of accounts—nothing but a confused mass of motley refuse papers, without order, reference, or effect. I do not, nor ever did, say that Mr. Deane has not the regular responsible accounts and vouchers ; but I said, and still say, he did not leave them with us. Perhaps they are among those he informs the public he had *placed in safety*—that is, in fitter hands than those of the commissioners appointed by Congress.

Mr. Deane informs us that there are but two sides of an account ; but he ought to know that there also ought to be to every mercantile account, receipts, invoices, and bills of lading. Had he ever taken the pains to procure these and left them for our satisfaction, he would have saved himself much discredit and me much trouble ; the public would have been secured and satisfied.

Mr. Deane lumps 244,285 livres, as had and expended in common by the commissioners. But this is not the fact. I had nothing to do with what the other commissioners received. What I took for my expenses I gave separate and distinct receipts for. By misstating what I say of my expenses he would induce Congress to suppose that I had half of that sum. This, too, is not a fact, as my receipts will show. When I said that from my experience I judged a public minister could not live on

less than three thousand a year, I did not mean that I had actually spent that sum; but that, as the expenses of a public minister must be greater than those of a commissioner, I could judge from my experience of the expense of the latter what must be necessary for the former. I had not been a public minister, and therefore could not speak from experience in that or from any other judgment.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 63.

WILLIAM LEE TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Frankfort on the Mayne,
Germany, 25 February, 1779.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have not heard from you, nor of you, but in the English papers, since May last. I have wrote to you repeatedly within that time, some of which letters I hope will reach you, particularly one of the 10th instant, via Holland to Boston, enclosed to Samuel Adams, Esqr, a copy of which was sent to Paris, to be forwarded from thence. Both these covered my affidavit in reply to Mr Deane's charge against me in his letter published Decr 5th in Dunlap's paper, of receiving a share of the commissions charged by the Commercial Agents in France, and a short address to the public, one, or both, or neither, you will publish as Congress shall judge advisable; for in so critical a time for our Country, I would avoid all public contestation, as far as it can possibly be done with propriety and a due attention to one's character. For, unless that is clear, half a man's powers to serve his country are taken away. You have now with this a copy of the affidavit, confirmed by certificates from one of the Commercial Agents and his clerks. I have drawn up a full state of all my proceedings in the public service from the time I first received notice of my being appointed one of the

Commercial Agents, until I left Paris in March last to come to Germany. This state shall be sent by the first safe conveyance that is likely to be quick, in which M. Deane will be proved to have acted a most reprehensible part, and his insinuations to my prejudice will appear as wicked and unjust, as his only positive charge against me will be proved untrue.

I hear by private report that the plot contrived in August or September last by the remnant of the old Junto in Paris and Nantes to injure the reputation of Mr Schweighauser and his Son in Law, Mr Dobree, has been transfer'd to the Agents of the Junto in America, where of course the principal censure has been thrown on me, and has been industriously propagated from Philadelphia to Maryland and Virginia, because Mr S. was appointed one of the Commercial Agents by me. I am surprised that so barefaced an attempt to injure me was not immediately quashed, as it cou'd have been done so easily by letting it be known that I have had nothing to do with that department for many months past, as the Secret or Commercial Committee early in the last year appointed the American Commissioners at Paris superintending agents of their Commercial affairs. From the experience I have had of the wickedness of our enemies, who I know will not stick at any falsehood or villainy to accomplish their vile purposes, I think it prudent to enclose you a copy of the Baron de Breteuil's letter to me, approving of my conduct at Vienna, and also copies of recommendatory letters Mr Stockton, who has been with me as Secretary, which you will keep and make known if you find occasion, for 'tis not impossible that some forg'd aspersions may be circulated against my proceedings in Germany ; especially as the negotiation I have had with the city of Amsterdam has given mortal offence to a certain person [Franklin] who wishes to be esteemed not only the sole legislator for all America, but also the sole and absolute director of all her proceedings. . . . It will be somewhat unlucky for America if Congress shou'd pay so much

attention to the calumny of Mr Deane, as to leave this department vacant at this critical moment; for now hostilities have ceased between the Emperor and king of Prussia, and peace is certainly settled, there will be work enough for an American deputy in Germany, and it may happen with a good deal of management, that the king of Prussia may do more than any other power in negotiating a peace between us and G. Britain. I shall write again on this subject, if I find my plans are likely to take place, which at present wear a favorable appearance. . . .

P. S.—I do not mention anything to Congress about Mr Deane, as it appears to me that it wou'd be irregular, as I only have heard of his proceedings thro' the medium of the public papers.

Ford's Letters of William Lee, page 529.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS ON THE DIVISIONS IN CONGRESS.

For the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET.

To the Quakers, Bethlemites, Moderate Men, Refugees, and other the Tories whatsoever, and wheresoever, dispersed: Peace.

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As to the calumnies against Congress and supposed divisions in that body, you are greatly tho' not altogether mistaken in the latter fact, and at any rate draw from it a very false conclusion. The late abusive writings shew indeed the illiberality of the respective writers, but by no means impeach those against whom they are directed. Being equally indifferent to the several performers, I wish not to balance their respective merits. This is certain: that Billingsgate language marks at most a Billingsgate education, and among those who know the real value of such performances, the reputation of a virtuous citizen will not suffer more from the scurrility of a news-paper, than from the nervous diction

of an oyster-wench. The licentiousness exhibited on these occasions, demonstrates the existence of liberty, which is a pleasing consideration to those who have a value for it. And altho' such productions may offend individuals, yet they are not without use to society, in like manner as the blasts of winter tho' keen are wholesome. We may further deduce from it the fallacy or rather falsity of what was once a favorite position among you, that people did not dare to utter their sentiments ; neither is it unworthy of your attention that the various attacks upon Congress have not drawn the least notice from that body. From hence it is to be concluded that they have a well founded confidence in themselves, for did the shaft stick, it would make the body sore. And nothing is truer than this, that little minds are more resentful than great ones, and truth more resented than falsehood. From some acquaintance and good information I will venture to add, that the present Congress considered in the double view of abilities and integrity is at least as respectable as any which hath yet been assembled. Let it not be concluded from this, that I conceive the individuals of that body to be of a superior nature. They like other men are subject to passions, prejudices, weaknesses, and the influence of the elements ; and since the Deity chose one Judas among twelve disciples, it cannot be wondered at if among a much greater number some few should be charged with peculiar pravity. But this by no means militates against the general observation.

To say there are divisions in Congress is only saying in other words that it is a popular Assembly. Different views of the same subject naturally lead men to differ in sentiments. Personal connections excite personal emotions, and the conflict of such emotions sometimes produces personal altercation. The heats inevitable on such occasions seldom evaporate within the walls of one house, but stimulate to bitter observations easily credited, because they flatter a self-importance which is uneasy at any kind of superiority. Perhaps you will

ask how it happens that such things did not exist formerly? They did; but the public dangers and distresses taught men to keep more secret those things which they readily divulge in an hour of greater security. The appearance of such divisions therefore in personal matters are striking marks of national prosperity, and you will find, that however the members of Congress may disagree about who shall be in and who shall be out, they will be firmly united in refusing to accept the independance Great-Britain is about to offer, and insist on a clear, explicit and pointed acknowledgment of it in the most extensive sense previous to any treaty whatsoever.

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AN AMERICAN.

The Pennsylvania Packet, Feb. 27, 1779.

WILLIAM LEE TO ARTHUR LEE.

Frankfort, 27 February, 1779.

We see in the papers a letter of A. Lee relative to Deane; hasty measures are often injurious. We learn from the papers that the Marquis de Fayette has been some time arrived at Paris, from whence letters, in the old channel, make Dr. F. not only minister plenipotentiary to Versailles, but to all the other Courts in Europe; this is making him K[ing] or rather E[mperor] of America with a witness. America has therefore struggled to a fine purpose to make a Ben. instead of a Geo. her absolute lord and master. . . . Peace in Germany seems now agreed on all sides, therefore it seems there will be work enough soon for W. Lee and probably for Izard. . . . Mat. Clarkson, Mr. D[eane]'s advocate in Philadelphia, was a Scotch notary; no doubt he thinks at present with his countryman Mr. R[o]ss, that they have the control and command of America under their patron Robert Morris.

Ford's Letters of William Lee, page 524.

Thomas Paine's Reply to Gouverneur Morris.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

A writer who signs himself *An American*, in the Pennsylvania Packet of last Saturday, has selected and thrown together a variety of circumstances from which no final conclusion appears to be clearly drawn. He has taken for granted that which is matter of doubt, and argued from it as from matter of fact.

The piece is written with a shew of decency and candor. But is decency and candor the natural or the mask character of the writer? If it be the former, we may conclude him sincere; if the latter, artful. It is necessary, at this time, that writers as well as writings should be read; and did I know a man who pays less regard to decency than himself, I would name him. The short character I have drawn is that which he affects to be proud of, and as I would willingly please all, where I can do it consistently, I have for once paid a compliment to ambition.

As subjects for his address he has selected the three following heads: *First*, The taking of Georgia by the enemy; *Secondly*, The calumnies raised against Congress; and, *Thirdly*, The symptoms of discontent exhibited by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. The *First* he admits to be true. And the *Second* and *Third* he endeavours to explain away.

That an enemy, after threatening the unconditional conquest of Thirteen States, should at last make their attack on the weakest and remotest of them all is such an evidence of wasted strength and despair as needs no other exposure than to be told. And with this simple remark I dismiss the first of his heads.

As to the calumnies against Congress, I know but of *one*, and that is to be found in Mr. Deane's address of Dec. 5th, viz., That "*the ears of the representatives were shut against him.*" But will the writer of the American, tho' a member of that House, say that he was not privy to the libel before it was published?

And will he now desert the libeller as an apology for himself? Consistency has some pretentions to character; and I would recommend it to the American to stick to his friend, and his friend to him. If the one can justify his conduct to his constituents, and the other to the public, it will be well for both.

Mr. Deane now wants to get off the Continent, and has applied to Congress for leave of absence. His retreat may be as convenient to several members of that House as to himself. But should a man whose public accounts are unsettled; who has made charges against others without offering to support them, and has had charges laid against him, to which he has made no reply; who is suspected of having carried on a clandestine trade of embezzling public money and suppressing the public dispatches, be at this time permitted to depart?

The state of things does not admit of that sleepy quietude and unlimited confidence which the writer of the American *now* wishes to promote. And as it cannot be the interest of the states to be imposed upon, either by their delegates in Congress or their ambassadors abroad, I shall collect and throw into one view the substance of what has been already published on Mr. Deane's affairs, with the letters I have written and sent into that body while the matter was depending, and their conduct thereon.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, March 1, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, March 2, 1779.

DEFENCE OF THE LEES BY WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.

It is expected by the public that you will comply with your promise of publishing impartially the papers on both sides in Mr. S. Deane's controversy.

If none but the collectors of Mr. Deane's Tory friends and abettors are to appear before the public, it is impossible that a fair and honest judgement can be formed. By desire you published a piece signed *Senex*, but you have never favoured the public with a complete and sensible answer to *Senex* published also in the Pennsylvania Packet. Perhaps you never received one; when you do, you will publish it. In the mean time, be so kind to print the following answer to *Senex*, which I pledge the reputation of an honest man to be the truth. The first question of *Senex* is, Whether Mr. Arthur Lee is, or is not, commissioner both to the Courts of Versailles and Madrid? Answer, No.

2d Question, Whether he was not an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Berkenhout, corresponded with him on subjects of a political nature during Mr. Lee's residence at Paris, and gave him letters of introduction to his brother the Hon. R. H. Lee?

Answer, Mr. R. H. Lee has already answered the latter part of this question in the most positive manner, No; and for the former part, it is incumbent on *Senex* to prove that being an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Berkenhout was blameable. He should prove also that Dr. Lee corresponded with Dr. Berkenhout on political subjects, and it is very material that you should prove this political correspondence to have contained in it anything criminal, otherwise a just and candid man would suppose, until the contrary was proved, that Dr. Berkenhout was not an unworthy acquaintance; and that as Dr. Lee had displayed the strongest attachments to America, his native country, and had most ably supported its cause by his writings, if such correspondance had existed, that it was not only innocent, but laudable.

3d Question, Whether Mr. William Lee is, or is not Commissioner to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, and Commercial Agent for the Congress in Europe? Mr. Lee's letter to his friend in Congress, dated

November 24, 1777, from Paris, will give to this question the following decisive answer: "In fact, the publick business in this country has been, and is likely to continue in strange disorder; nor is it likely to mend *until the Secret Committee confine all their mercantile business to their mercantile Agents, and keep the Commissioners to their political duty, which may be neglected from too much attention to private schemes of commerce on public funds, and contemptible private jobs. I am now out of the question, therefore cannot be charged with partiality in my advice. I shall from henceforth take my leave of this department, keeping my attention entirely confined to the charge which is committed to my care.*" The truth is, that Mr. Lee understood, as did every body else, that his political had superceded his commercial appointment. The reason was evident; the scene of commerce was in France, that of politics far off in Germany. It is also true, that although Mr. William Lee has thus, in November, as he expresses it, "*taken his leave* of the commercial department," yet the Commissioners at Paris, who were directed to furnish him with copies of the treaties to propose to Vienna and Berlin, delaying to do this, and other political obstructions intervening to stay Mr. Lee's journey north until the death of Mr. Thomas Morris, the then surviving Commercial Agent in France, obliged Mr. Lee to visit Nantz before he left France, to put the public affairs in some order; for which purpose Mr. Deane, as well as the other Commissioners, solicited and obtained a royal order to put the papers of Mr. Thomas Morris into the hands of Mr. Lee. Whilst Mr. Lee was at Nantz he appointed merchants of unquestionable reputation and fortune in the respective ports to transact the public business at each of them, until the pleasure of the Congress should be known. This done, he returned to France, and thence to Vienna. Mr. Jonathan Williams was not an agent appointed by Congress or its Committee, therefore his commission is not known here. Mr. Deane appointed Mr. Williams, praises him,

and has put large sums of public money into the hands of this young man, I understand about a million of livres. In a letter from Mr. Williams to Mr. Deane, dated Nantz, March 26, 1778 (a copy of which I have seen) Mr. Williams says, "*My connection with you being known.*" Will you, *Senex*, or your friend, Mr. S. Deane, explain what this *connection* means? Or it may be supposed, considering your friend's turn for commerce, to be a commercial connection. In the same letter to Mr. Deane, Mr. Williams writes, "I received your favour of the 21st instant, and observe *that my draughts will continue to be accepted.* It would be less troublesome to you, and *most beneficial to my credit, if you would give Mr. Grand a general approbation;* for every draught is to lie unaccepted till Mr. G. can have an opportunity of presenting them to you, the holder will not have a very good opinion of my solidity, and Mr. G., I suppose, will not in future *accept till after the bills are presented*, for he has written I suppose a dozen times to me desiring your approbation of what has already been drawn *over the established credit.*" I am unacquainted with Mr. Williams, but I am told he is a young man. Whether young or old, it does not seem modest in him to desire leave to draw on the public treasure at will, and that his draughts shall be accepted, without presentation, by the banker with whom was deposited all the money of the United States in France. As you are fond of questions, *Senex*, let me ask you, and you may inquire of your friend, Mr. Deane, what share he had in the large cargo of cloths imported into Charlestown by Mr. Bromfield? I fear, *Senex*, that notwithstanding the old name you have assumed, that you possess the follies of youth, which is certainly the season for credulity. Confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom, therefore you should have balanced a little before you gave into such implicit belief of all the wonderful things Mr. Deane has said of himself. You will do well to advise your friend to observe the Spanish Proverb for the future, "that he who lives in a glass

house, should not begin to throw stones." That Mr. William Lee made such contracts with the Agents he appointed, as Mr. Deane mentions, no candid man will believe until Mr. Deane produces proof, because he professes that he is writing against men whom he calls his enemies. If friendship to the public is enmity to Mr. Deane, these gentlemen are to blame for it; they contend for the settlement of public accounts, that it may be clearly seen how the public treasure has been expended.

4th Question. Whether this gentleman did not, since his appointment to offices of public trust under the United States, hold his office of Alderman in the City of London, and whether he does not still hold that office? Answer. Mr. William Lee is a native of Virginia; the bulk of his fortune, and that not inconsiderable, is in Virginia. He is both known in America and London, to have been the firm invariable friend of America, and opposer of the British measures. He was an Alderman of London, which place, and his Aldermanship he quitted, with all possible, as soon as he knew his country had occasion for his services on the continent of Europe. In the same volume where *Senex* and his party find Mr. Lee an Alderman of London, he may find Dunmore Governor of Virginia, Tryon of New York, Martin of North Carolina, &c., &c. But though the ideas of Whiggism and justice, which govern *Senex* and his party, incline them to condemn the friends of America for the publications of the common enemy, it is to be presumed that the free and virtuous citizens of America entertain very different ideas of justice; they will consider the characters of men, not by what the enemy publish, or a factious Junto, but will let them stand or fall in their opinion by facts clearly proved, and not by malicious suppositions, suggestions, and dark inuendoes. If the servants of the public are to be condemned in this manner; if such little manœuvres are to destroy the reputation of men who have been supporting with zeal their country's cause from the begin-

ning, and among the foremost, I fear virtue will retire, and the public affairs be conducted by men whose councils will tread back with great quickness those steps to glorious Independence, which the characters now as used have travelled with so much uniformity. Before I conclude, I must observe that Dr. Franklin was appointed in the winter of 1776 Commissioner for Spain, and continued in his appointment for France at the same time; that in the summer following, Congress being informed by the Commissioners that they had agreed Dr. Lee should go to Spain, and that he was actually gone there, there the like powers were sent him that were formerly sent to Dr. Franklin. When the conclusion of the alliance had finished the business of the Commission in France, Congress appointed Dr. Franklin Minister Plenipotentiary to France, which most effectually superceded all former commission, as well to Mr. Adams as to Dr. Lee; and this was done some time before Mr. Deane's publication, and not unknown to him, it is presumed, as it was generally known in Philadelphia. What now, *Senex*, must the honest and candid part of the world think of you and your friend, for thus attempting to impose upon the free and virtuous citizens of America?

DETECTOR.*

Virginia Gazette, *March* 5, 1779.

ARTHUR LEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Nantes, March 7, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,—I had not the honor of receiving yours of the 29th of October until the 13th of February. The two pieces it enclosed from Mr. Deane I suppose it is expected I should answer; and I shall do it probably by the next opportunity. In the mean time I can assure

* Detector is supposed to be William H. Drayton, Esq., one of the Delegates to Congress from South Carolina.—*Almon's Remembrancer*, *VII.* 371.

you that I have sufficient evidence to show the evasion and untruth of everything they contain.

I hope it will not be expected of me to continue answering the assertions of Mr. Deane. If he produces any evidence to support his assertions they may be worth attention, but it is an endless as well as fruitless and unbecoming business to be refuting all that such a man is capable of inventing.

On the 18th of February I received from Dr. Franklin a copy of the resolution of Congress appointing him minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, accompanied with an assurance that the resolution of Congress recommending harmony and confidence among the commissioners was agreeable to him. I returned an assurance of my sentiments being the same. The next day I received a letter from him dated also the 18th, and demanding of me the immediate delivery of all the public papers in my possession. I replied that, as the papers belonging to the late commissioners were or ought to be vouchers of their joint transactions, they should be equally accessible to them all; but that Mr. Deane, by his own confession, had taken and secured to himself all that he chose, that most of what remained were in his (Dr. Franklin's) possession, and of the very few that were in mine most of them were duplicates, and the remainder necessary for my defense against Mr. Deane's accusation. But, however, I was in the judgment of Congress whether I ought to give them up, and should obey their orders.

I think it proper to inform you that Dr. Franklin, immediately upon the receipt of the resolution of Congress appointing him minister plenipotentiary, took into his sole management what was before under the commissioners, without showing us any authority for so doing or any revocation of our joint commission. To this we submitted without the least question, supposing it probable that such was the intention of Congress, and believing that any dispute about it would destroy all possibility of harmony, and do more injury to the public

than any possible good that could be derived from the contest.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 74.

SAMUEL ADAMS TO BENJAMIN AUSTIN.

Philadelphia, March 9, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Hoskins, who arrived here a few days ago, was kind enough to deliver to me your favor the 7th of Feb. It gave me a particular pleasure, because I was convinced that you had not totally forgot your old Friend. You see, I rank myself among your friends. How often have we chatted together by the fire side, and settled essential Points to mutual Satisfaction. Yet we have not always thought alike of Men who have conducted the noble Contest for the Rights of our Country, which we have been and are still engaged in. I congratulate my Countrymen on our having thus far got through the Conflict, but we *are still* engaged in it. And I repeat it, because while too many of our Countrymen are flattering themselves with the aiery Prospect of Peace, Britain, if we may credit our latest and last Accounts from Europe, is preparing for a vigorous Campaign. It is prudent for us to enquire of the Watchman *What of the Night?* The Caution given us on another occasion may with propriety be adapted to this. *Be ye ready;* lest when the Time of Danger approaches, ye be found distracted with the eager Pursuit of Riches, or sleeping in the delusive Lap of pleasure and Dissipation. But this is a Digression from the intended Subject of my Letter. You ask my opinion of two Men who have lately appeared on the publick Stage; and with your usual Frankness, express your own opinion without a Doubt, that Congress will soon convince the one of his Folly and the other of his Weakness.

But have you not misunderstood the Characters of these men? Has not the first by his artful Address concealed his Weakness from the publick Eye, while the other, by an improper Use of the Weapons in his hands, has given Advantage to his Adversary, and thereby discovered his Folly. Mr. Deane had in his first Publication said so much as to make it necessary that some other Person should say more. Common Sense undertook the Task and produced stubborn and undeniable facts, but not contenting himself with relating such facts only as were pertinent to his Argument, he gave occasion to the Swarms of Writers against him to asail themselves, by diverting the Attention of his Readers from the proper Point. I will mention an Instance. After he had proved to the Satisfaction of every one, that the Cannon and Stores forwarded to America by Mr. Deane had been negociated by Mary Johnson and Beaumarchais before his Arrival in France, and consequently that the Merit of the Negociation did not belong to Mr. Deane, what Necessity was there for Common Sense to mention them as *a Present?* It was nothing to his purpose; And it was too delicate a Subject for him to touch upon, or to attempt to prove if it had been true. His prudence therefore and even his Veracity was called in Question by his Adversaries, and his Authority and Influence as a Writer of facts lessened. The faithful Historian however, will hereafter unfold the rural Politicks of the present Day. The Newspaper Writings of these two Men have drawn not only the Conduct but the Characters of others into Dispute. Had Mr. Deane been only called upon explicitly to state his Charges, if he had any, against Doctor Lee, I believe he would not have attempted it, and a Scrutiny of any Man's Character but his own would have been unnecessary. Although he has insinuated many things against the Doctor, and stepped aside from the Line of Propriety and Decency to bring in Invective, yet I do not recollect that he has explicitly criminated him in either, nor do I believe it is in his Power. If no one steps forward to accuse him, why

should his Integrity be doubted? Why should you, my Friend, express yourself in so languid a Tone, "I can't *yet* but have a great opinion of Dr. Lee," and "rather than the Cause of America should *be betrayed* I would give up the dearest Connections I have on Earth." Has Dr. Lee forfeited the good opinion you "always had" of him? Do you doubt his Integrity and Attachment to the Cause of America? Has any one charged him with Mal Conduct? Shall the mere Insinuations and angry Reflections of a disappointed Man lessen your good opinion of one whom you know to have been early, decided, active, persevering and inflexible in the Cause of America? If this should be the prevailing Disposition, what honest Man can be safe? The consistent Patriot, after having endured Fatigue and Danger for the Establishment of publick Liberty, would find himself still in the greatest Perils among his own Countrymen. I will say nothing decisively of Mr. Deane at present; but I will assure you of one thing, that were I connected with Dr. Lee as a publick Man, and conscious of my own Tardiness, I should think I had everything to apprehend, not from a peevish, fretful Temper with which interested Men have attempted to stigmatize him, but from his stern Virtues and Republican Jealousy. I may be partial to Dr. Lee, I confess I feel the strongest obligation to him, for the eminent Services he rendered to America when he was in England, and to the Massachusetts Bay in particular. I hope my Countrymen are not all ungrateful. Some of them, I have been taught to believe are so; otherwise the publick Character of an old Servant would not have been aspersed, nor would it have been said, as I am informed it has, that he had been *bribed* to desert his Country. It is his honorable Lot to have Enemies. Honorable, because he flatters himself his Enemies are among the Weak and the Wicked. I leave my own Character, under God, in the Care of my virtuous fellow Citizens. I will contend for Dr. Lees, because I am his Friend; and I am his friend, because I have

long had abundant Reason to be convinced that he is a Friend to our Country. I have said I may be thought partial to him. Be pleased then to take the Testimony of another, and show it to his Friends and his Enemies. "Your old friend says he is a Man of Honor and Integrity." "He has been of opinion that the *publick Monies* have been too *freely* issued here, and has often opposed it." Let me remark here that it is no Wonder he has exposed himself to the Resentment of a Man thro' whose hands the Chief of the money passed. "Insinuations, I have been told, have been made at Court against your old friend that he was too friendly to the English, too much attached to Lord Shelburne, and even that he corresponded with his Lordship and communicated Intelligence to him. This, *whoever* suggested it, I am *perfectly confident* was a *cruel Calumny.* You and I have had opportunity to know his *invariable* Attachment to our Cause long before Hostilities commenced, and I have not a Color of Ground for Suspicion that from that time to this he has deviated from the Cause of his Country in *Thought, Word or Deed.*"

You may tell the Friends of Virtue and Liberty that the Letter from which the foregoing Extracts are taken was written to me by one in whom they have always very justly placed great Confidence. I could transcribe more Passages which mention Dr. Lee as "a worthy Character," the unwarrantable Lengths to which the Animosities of interested Men have been carried against him, and the Inveteracy of many Subaltern and collateral Characters, but I think I have given enough to satisfy every reasonable Man. Adieu. SAMUEL ADAMS.

B. Austin, Esqr.

Bancroft Mss., Lenox Library.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ARTHUR LEE.

Passy, March 13, 1779.

SIR,—A severe fit of the gout, with too much business at the same time necessary to be done, has

prevented till now my answering yours of the 21st past.

I did not imagine there would be any difference of sentiment between us concerning the propriety of returning to me the papers which you have at various times taken from this house. Where several persons joined in the same commission are to act upon papers it seems necessary that they should be lodged in one place, where all the parties may be sure of finding them, and under the care of one person, who should be accountable for them; and if there were not some particular reasons to influence another choice, I should suppose the person first named in the commission might, with great propriety, take charge of them. I am sure that if you had been that person I should have made no objection to it. Mr. Adams having a room more convenient and more private than mine, and in which he lodged, I approved of his keeping the papers. He has voluntarily returned me all that he had without asking, and I thought asking was only necessary to obtain the rest from you; for the whole business, which before was transacted by us jointly, being now devolved on me, and as there must be frequent occasion to look back on letters received, memorials delivered, and accounts given in, contracts made, etc., which, if I can not have the opportunity of doing, I must be frequently at a loss in future transactions, I did not imagine I should have any difficulty in obtaining them, nor had I the least idea that my asking for them would occasion any dispute.

I suppose that the papers Mr. Deane mentions to have taken and secured were those only that related to his separate commercial transactions for the public before his appointment with us in the political commission. If he took away any of the papers we were jointly concerned in, I conceive he was wrong in doing so, and that his doing wrong would not justify the rest of us in following his example. I can have no desire to deprive you of any paper that may be of use to you in answering Mr. Deane's accusations, having no con-

cern in them, nor interest in supporting them. On the contrary, if any papers remaining in my hands can be of such use to you, you are welcome to have authenticated copies of them (which shall, on request, be made out for you), as well as of any others "evidencing our joint transactions" which you may desire. On the whole, it seems to me that this matter may be reasonably settled by your keeping, if you please, all those originals of which there are duplicates at Passy, retaining for a time such of the rest as you desire to copy, which copies, being compared by us with the originals, may be authenticated by our joint signatures, and returning immediately all the others docketed and catalogued as you please, so as that you may know what and where they are, and call for a copy of any of them you may hereafter have occasion for, which shall always be given you. If these propositions are agreed to, the affair may soon be settled; if not, I must wait the orders of Congress, and in the mean time do as well as I can with their business, which I think must often suffer by my want of the knowledge these papers might occasionally furnish me with.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 76.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, March 15, 1779.

SIR,—I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 22d of February past, to which letter I beg leave to refer your Excellency. Having received no answer to the requests I then made, I have now only to add, that my situation, which for eight months past has been peculiarly distressing, is now become such as to oblige me to leave this city without further delay, and therefore I again most respectfully entreat of Congress to inform me if they expect further information from me

respecting their foreign or other affairs, and, as I shall without loss of time return to Europe, that I may be informed if they have any further commands for my service, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, are to be adjusted and closed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 181.

ARTHUR LEE TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Paris, March 19, 1779.

SIR,—I received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 13th relative to the few papers of our late joint commission remaining in my hands; they are confounded among a multitude of other papers. I will examine them soon; and if I find any that relate to public accounts remaining unpaid (which I do not believe I shall find), I will inform you of it, that copies may be taken of them.

You are pleased to say that Mr. Adams gave you the papers unasked. Mr. Adams gave you the general papers, which no way related to him in particular, on your promise that you would have them arranged and kept in order. Mr. Adams was not a calumniated person, nor were the papers he delivered to you necessary to justify him and prove the wickedness of his accuser. In circumstances so totally different I can not imagine, sir, that you can think we should act the same. Your pressing so earnestly to get from me a few original papers, which you only conjecture may be, in some shape or other, useful to you, after I have informed you that they are absolutely necessary to my vindication from an impeachment that touches even my life and honor, gives me great uneasiness. Whether you are concerned or not in the accusation, it is equally necessary for me to refute them; and I am sure, sir, you know that originals are better evidence than copies,

however authenticated. On the contrary, copies are as adequate to the purposes you mention as originals ; and I am most ready to give you copies sealed and authenticated of all or any of the papers in my hands as you may command. I beg, sir, that you will have the goodness to believe that when I give my reasons for my conduct I do not mean to enter into or occasion a dispute.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 89.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ARTHUR LEE.

Passy, March 27, 1779.

SIR,—The offer you made of sending me copies, sealed and authenticated, of all the papers in your hands is very satisfactory, and as you say they are but few, I suppose it may soon be done. I imagined when I desired you to send me the originals that they were a great many, and at present of no importance to you, and therefore not worth copying. I assure you I had not the least intention of depriving you of anything you might think necessary for your vindication. The suspicion is groundless and injurious. In a former letter I offered you authenticated copies of any remaining in my hands that you should judge might be of such use to you, and I now offer you the originals, if you had rather have them, and will content myself with keeping copies.

Mr. Adams did not, as you insinuate, exact any promise of me to arrange and keep in order the papers he sent me. He knew such a promise unnecessary, for that I had always kept in order and by themselves the public papers that were in my hands, without having them so confounded among a multitude of other papers "that they could not be found when called for."

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 102.

Thomas Paine to Silas Deane.

To Mr. Deane.

Sir,—The Committee of Congress, which have been sitting near a quarter of a year on your affairs, have at last brought in their report. What that report is, is a secret to me.

You first made your appeal to the public on the fifth of December, and promised them a history of "*matters important for them to know*" (those are the words of your address) yet in a few days after, you deserted them, and left them to find those matters out.

Where you left the public I took them up, and the general belief now is, that the *matters so important for them to know are found out* without your assistance, namely, *that you negociated a profered present amounting to two hundred thousand pounds sterling into a purchase, and embezzled, or was privy to the embezzling, the public dispatches to promote the imposition;* and that you may have no pretence hereafter to say that you were slanderously suspected, without any person undertaking to prove the circumstances on which the suspicions were founded, I hereby give you this notice, before your affairs be finally determined on in Congress, that if you will appeal to that Honourable House in behalf of your own suffering character, and to clear up the suspicions you lay under from my publications, that I will obey any order, and meet you at the bar of that House, and submit to any examination from them or you on the points in question, provided *the doors be open*.

But if this condition should be thought too much, I am contented to yield up something to supposed convenience, and will on my own part rest satisfied that the President and Council of this state, and Members of Assembly, if they please, be present, with such Members of any other state who may be on the spot.

Common Sense.

Market-street, Philadelphia, March 26, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, March 27, 1779.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, March 29, 1779.

Sir,—I did myself the honor of writing to your Excellency the 22d of February last, in which I mentioned the distressed situation into which my affairs were brought by being detained in this city, and in which I earnestly requested to know of Congress whether they had any further commands for me, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, were to be adjusted and closed. You were pleased to inform me verbally that my letter was referred to the committee, who were ordered to report immediately. I have since been informed that they have reported, but that the report has not been considered by Congress, nor any resolutions passed thereon. This forces me again to apply to Congress, and to lay before that honorable body in part my situation. I have been near four years absent from my family and private affairs, which have suffered exceedingly thereby. More than three years of the time I have been in the actual service of Congress.

The settlement of the commissioners' accounts and my own will show to demonstration that I have received nothing therefor except money for my necessary expenses. When the orders of Congress and the service of these States required my immediate return, I took with me one hundred and eighty louis d'ors, or guineas only, to defray my expenses and those of four Americans and a servant to America. Two of the Americans were captains in the navy of the United States, and had escaped from prison in England. Of the other two, one had been taken in a private ship of war which he commanded, and had also escaped from prison ; the other was a captain in the merchant service. Our journey to Toulon, which is near six hundred miles, was expensive, and was defrayed by me. Our passage from Toulon to America was at the expense of his most Christian majesty. I took those American

captains with me by the advice and at the desire of the ministers of France and of Dr. Franklin, these captains being well acquainted with the American coast. I have been for more than eight months past in this city, and at an expense to which my private fortune is by no means adequate, though I have regulated my expenses by the strictest economy my situation could admit of. I will not trouble Congress with mentioning what has passed since my return. The loss of my private property is of no consideration with me if my country is in anyway essentially served thereby ; but whilst Congress defer coming to any resolution respecting my public services as their agent and commissioner, what is dearer to me than life or fortune, my character, is attacked, and liable to suffer from the groundless and base insinuations of some and from the open calumnies of others. I can not but think it an act of justice due not only to me as an individual, but to Congress and the public in general, that my conduct be either approved of or censured. I have most surely merited one or the other, from the important part I have acted, and the manner in which I have transacted it. I had the honor of bringing with me testimonials, not only from my late venerable colleague, but from his most Christian majesty and his ministers, in favor of my conduct whilst in France. They have been long since laid before Congress, and I can not but conceive that if I have merited the calumnies which have for some months past been publicly thrown out against me and industriously spread through these States, justice to those great personages who condescended to interest themselves so warmly in my favor requires that my demerits should be publicly known and made to appear, that they may no longer be deceived or in a state of uncertainty respecting my real character and merits.

A writer, who has been busily employed for three months past in inventing and publishing the most scandalous falsehoods in order to injure me in the opinion of my countrymen, has produced in Dunlap's paper of

the 27th instant two charges against me, the one for "*negotiating an intended present into a loan*," or, in other words, of defrauding my honorable constituents of a large sum of money; the other, of intercepting and destroying the public dispatches in order to cover the fraud. This writer has not long since been in the employ of Congress as a secretary or clerk, of which circumstance he avails himself to give force to his calumnies, and has had the confidence to appeal to Congress for the truth of his assertions, though he knew at the time that Congress had unanimously contradicted the first, and that the latter was but the creature of his own forming. From the moment that I was ordered by Congress to lay before them, in writing, a narration of my public transactions I have considered myself as being before that tribunal, and no other, and under their immediate protection, and consequently not at liberty to take that notice of the publications of this writer or of his prompters which, as an individual otherways circumstanced, I should have took long since. This consideration, and the full reliance I have ever placed on the justice of Congress, have prevented my making any reply to the many base and false insinuations thrown out by this writer and others against me; and I have been encouraged to wait with patience for the decision of Congress by repeated promises that a speedy issue should be made of those affairs.

I now submit it to that honorable body whether, if my patience is exhausted, I ought to be deemed culpable, and have further to entreat that, if Congress or any of its members entertain any apprehensions that I am guilty of the two charges brought against me (to which I have referred), or on any other account whatever, that I may be heard before Congress, and I submit it to their wisdom to determine how public the inquiry shall be, assuring them that the more public the scrutiny shall be into every part of my conduct the more agreeable it will be to me. I have only to entreat further, that a decisive answer may be given to me on the above

requests, and that you will be assured of my unalterable respect and attachment.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., III. 104.

THOMAS PAINE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, March 30, 1779.

HONOURABLE SIRS,—On the 19th instant I applied by letter to this Honorable House, requesting a copy of their proceedings, respecting me from January 2d to January 16th, the day on which the papers of the foreign committee were taken out of my keeping; and by a personal application to Mr. Thomson, your Secretary, I have since learned that nothing has been done thereon.

I am thus laid under the necessity of renewing my application to Congress, for copies of all papers and proceedings respecting me, except copies of my own letters of January 6th and 7th, and March 19th.

Were I asking a favor I should address my language accordingly, but my application being on a *matter of right*, I cannot discredit the latter, by giving it the disguise of the former. I conceive that the character of no individual can be constitutionally secure where a formal judgement can be discretionarily produced and published, and the grounds and proceedings on which that judgement is founded, withheld, or subject to future alterations.

Congress have published their judgement in a resolution of January 12th, and I have a right to know the proceedings.

That resolution is prefaced in the Pennsylvania Packet of January 16th, with a letter signed "John Jay," yet as far as I have a right to know that letter may be spurious, for as I have never been wanting in any duty I could perform, or service I could render, to America and her allies, I ought not to believe that the Honorable

President of Congress would address a letter to the Minister of France, which by a very close laid implication holds me up as "*deserving the indignation and resentment of both countries.*" *

I ought likewise not to believe that at the time I was innocently suffering public abuse, for endeavoring, in the sincerity of good will, to justify this Honorable House from Mr. Deane's libellous publication of December 5th, that any gentleman, a member of this House, would add to the burthen of that undertaking, so necessary at that time to the injured and insulted character of Congress, and withal feel so little for himself and the dignity of the state he represented, as to prefer the dishonor of the libel by discrediting the detection of the libeller.

Neither ought I to believe, that while apprehensive of clandestine conduct in Mr. Deane, I was endeavoring, both officially and otherwise, to collect information on the points in question, respecting his proceedings, that any member of this Honorable House would use his vote and influence to prevent such information, and thereby to fix on his constituents a man who, there were many reasons to believe, was unworthy their esteem, and underserving their confidence. †

Furnished with opportunities, and anxious to support the interest of the United States, I very soon became acquainted with many suspicious circumstances respecting Mr. Deane's conduct, and judging to what issue they would lead, and tender at that time of the personal honor of Congress, I sent in the most pressing letters of January 6th, 7th, and 8th, hoping thereby to prevent a precipitate determination on a business, which, to my knowledge, was not sufficiently before the House, the result of which I had cause to believe would contradict

* This extraordinary paragraph in Mr. Jay's letter appears to be disowned by Congress.

† The gentlemen who remarkably distinguished themselves in presenting information coming to Congress, were, Mr. Jay and Mr. G. Morris, New York ; Mr. Paca and Mr. Carmichael, Maryland ; Mr. M. Smith and Mr. T. Adams, Virginia ; Mr. Penn, Mr. Hill, Mr. Burke, North Carolina ; Mr. Drayton, South Carolina ; Mr. Langworthy, Georgia.

the beginning; for tho' Congress might have good reasons to declare that the supplies were not a present from his Most Christian Majesty, those reasons could form no grounds whereon to conclude they were "*not a present*" because . . . [two lines omitted by printer of Pa. Packet].

Thus frustrated in my endeavors to promote the interest of the United States, to cement the affection of the countries in alliance, and to guard even the personal honor of Congress, by detection in the first instance and by intimation in the last, I am now anxious to know what returns they severally made to me that I may not render evil for good. I am, Honorable Sirs,

Your Honors' obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

To the Hon. John Jay,
President of Congress.

The Pennsylvania Packet, April 20, 1779.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 2d April, 1779.

SIR,—I am without an answer to the letter I did myself the honor of writing to you the 30th ultimo. As I shall be obliged to leave Philadelphia in a few days at farthest, I have again to solicit a decisive reply to my last. Justice to my fortune as well as character requires it, and I can by no means bring myself to suppose that Congress will ever refuse the doing justice either to the character or fortune of any free citizen of these States, much less that they will any longer delay it to one in their service, and under their immediate protection, and who has for many months past been soliciting for justice, as well to his fortune as character.

I have the honor to be, With the utmost respect and attachment, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I 185.

Gouverneur Morris to Joseph Reed.

Extracts of a letter dated Philadelphia, 9th April, 1779.

Another insinuation against me no less cruel is, that I support Mr. Deane from interested motives. If by supporting Mr. Deane is meant the just & honorable support which is due from a Representative of America to a Servant who asks for Justice, I am proud to declare that I have given and will give it, tho' I disdain to sell it either for Price or Condition. But if by support is meant Assistance in Fraud or Guilt I repel the Calumny and I despise the Calumniator. While Mr. Deane was a Petitioner to be heard, I maintained his Right to a fair and a candid Hearing, with the Warmth, not of an Advocate, but of an honest Representative whose Duty it was to do Justice to the Public and to Individuals. If he shall appear to be guilty I will condemn and prosecute him, and if innocent I shall endeavor to place that Innocence in its proper Light. But the supposition that I forward his views (if any he has) to future foreign Employment is ridiculous. Mr. Deane considered in himself is not the Negotiator I should chuse under his present Circumstances, tho' compared with some now Employed, and others who wish to be employed, he has an infinite Preference.

. . . . . .

It is hardly worth mentioning further than as it serves to shew how sedulously some Persons employ themselves to my Prejudice that Enquiries have been made whether I am not concerned with Mr. Deane in Trade. There is nothing which may not be overdone, and this is among the number of those things which must soon recoil upon the Inventors. I am well content that my Conduct be probed to the Bottom, and I trust it will then appear to deserve not the Forgiveness, but the Applause of my country.

Reed Papers, N. Y. Historical Society.

Thomas Paine to Silas Deane.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

To Mr. Deane,—Wherever your future lot may be cast, or however you may be disposed of, the recollection of your present affairs ought to teach you this one useful lesson, that *honesty is the best policy*.

It is now eight weeks ago since I laid before the public a regular detail of circumstances, on which were grounded my suspicions of your having negociated a profered present, amounting to two hundred thousand pounds sterling, into a purchase, and embezzled the public dispatches to promote the payment of the money. The circumstances as I have related them, are undeniable; neither have you attempted, either before Congress or the public, to clear up the suspicions, and by that neglect have confirmed them into a charge. The examination of Capt. Folger, who was detained a prisoner near five months at York-Town on account of the loss of those dispatches, would now throw some additional light on this affair; but strange as it may appear, that examination is not now to be found.

After I had laid the circumstances before the public concerning the loss of the dispatches, and explained the object for which they appear to have been lost, I informed you, in the Pennsylvania Packet of last month, that if you thought yourself aggrieved by any thing I had written and published, that I would attend an order of Congress, and submit to any examination on the points in question, provided the doors were open. For as I have some reasons to suspect that there are Members of that House who are privately interested with you, the success of whose projects depends in a great measure on your fate, I ought not to trust myself before them (after what has already passed) with the doors shut.

In answer to this it may be said, that there are others of that Honorable House on whose integrity and public spirit I might safely rely, without any other evidence; but when I recollect how much more industrious

interest is than friendship, I am the more confirmed in the opinion, that I ought not to trust too much to probability. I once attended an order of Congress (January 6th), and was asked by the President, Mr. Jay, whether I was the author of the publications in the Pennsylvania Packet, entitled, "*Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's affairs;*" I instantly answered, "*Yes, I am the author of all these pieces.*" No other questions were asked me, and I was ordered to withdraw. On the next day, January 7th, I applied for a hearing, and on a motion being made for that purpose, it passed in the negative; and on the next day, January 8th, I sent in my resignation of the office of Secretary to the Committe for Foreign Affairs. Yet on the 16th, without any enquiry whether I was right or wrong, or hearing or requiring any explanation on the matter, some of Mr. Deane's party made a motion for dismissing me, on account of those publications, from the very office I had before resigned, because I was refused a hearing to explain and support them. The motion, as it happened, was lost; for though the majority for the dismission was fourteen to thirteen, yet it being a tye upon the States, five for—five against, and two divided, it passed in the negative. And as this vote explains the cast of Congress on other parts of Mr. Deane's affairs, I shall furnish the public with the yeas and nays.

For the Dismission.	Against the Dismission.
Mr. Holton,	Mr. Whipple,
Mr. Collins,	Mr. S. Adams,
Mr. Jay,	Mr. Gerry,
Mr. Lewis,	Mr. Lovel,
Mr. Atlee,	Mr. Ellery,
Mr. Paca,	Mr. Dyer,
Mr. Carmichael,	Mr. Root,
Mr. Thomas Adams,	Mr. Roberdeau,
Mr. Merry Smith,	Mr. Searle,
Mr. Penn,	Mr. Shippen,

For the Dismission.	Against the Dismission.
Mr. Hill,	Mr. M'Kean,
Mr. Burke,	Mr. F. L. Lee,
Mr. Drayton,	Mr. Hutson.
Mr. Langworthy.	
Mr. Deane and	Neither were
Mr. G. Morris,	Mr. Laurens,
were not in the house.	Mr. Henry,
	Mr. Floyd,
	Mr. Frost.

New Jersey was absent.

How the gentlemen who voted for the dismission *without an hearing*, can possibly reconcile such conduct to their vote on the 9th of January, which declares that I had no right to conclude *that I was not to be heard*, is to me, and must be to every man, and even to themselves, unaccountable; their conduct on the two days being as opposite in principle as right and wrong. But to return to Mr. Deane.

Four months ago the popular torrent ran, not only strong, but violent in your favor. Forced by the daily inventions of interested adherents, it rose with the rapidity of a bubble, and discharged itself like the breaking of a bank. Before the multitude had time to reflect, they were hurried away, and, following the impulse of the first impression, felt an unwillingness to resist, an awkwardness to retract.

Whether you were then right or wrong, was of no more consequence to me than to any other individual in America. It was as much every man's duty as mine to assist you in the first, or detect you in the last; and the only difference was, that by knowing more of the matter, I had the less excuse for neglect. I had politically nothing to lose or gain distinct from the general interest, and would as freely have supported you, had I believed you to be right, as I opposed you, believing you to be wrong.

As to whatever parties (if any) were formed for or against you, in one place or another, I had not the most distinct connection with, or knowledge of. Having at that time no quarrel with you, or you with me, or with any other gentleman in or out of Congress upon your account, or upon the account of any other Commissioner or agent, I had no interested object to carry, no party or personal resentment to gratify; and not being even hinted at in your address of December 5th, I had, on my own part, nothing to defend.

Such being my situation at the time your address came out, the question is, What could induce me to take it up? so opposite to your plan, and contrary to almost every man's opinion. I stood fair with the United States, and had no occasion to run risks to establish or recover reputation. The task too was heavy, and the prospect troublesome; besides which, I had intentionally devoted the winter to more agreeable employments, and the loss of so much time on your account has thrown me unprofitably back in the plan I had laid out, which was that of making an arrangement of materials for a History of the Revolution.

Those who have no idea of stirring hand or foot without profit or reward, will assign such reasons for my conduct as influence their own; and as I can neither prevent their opinions or change their principles, I shall leave them to think as they please. But if I may be allowed to declare for myself, my only motive was, that *I doubted your integrity, and had good reasons to suspect you were imposing on the country;* and as those reasons were known to no other person out of Congress than myself, therefore no other person could go through the undertaking.

I had, on former occasions, I believe, rendered essential service, and that in the very crisis of time. And I saw in this instance, that exclusive of the imposition you were acting on the public, by pretending to give them information of plots which never existed but in your own wicked imagination, that the plan was to get

you off Ambassador to Holland, where you might hope to have the fingering a loan of money, and to make a new appointment of Ambassadors to other Courts of men connected with yourself. And I leave America to judge what condition our foreign affairs must shortly have been in, if such a measure had succeeded, and if what I have stated respecting your former conduct be true, which there is yet no reason to disbelieve.

But there is one circumstance which must still appear embarrassing to the public, and which I now mean to throw the best light upon in my power.

In your address of December 5th, you declared that "*the ears of the Representatives in Congress were shut against you?*" yet every day's experience has proved that the charge was untrue. Why, then, was it made, or why was it submitted to?

Any indifferent person would suppose that those against whom that charge was directed, would feel themselves relieved by the pains I have taken to detect the falsehood, for it was a falsehood, as the Journals of Congress of December the first will testify. But be that as it may, the falsehood undetected was a convenient one, because it stood as an apology to a publication calculated to make room for a new appointment of Commissioners to foreign Courts, by unjustly traducing the characters of those who were already appointed. And consequently those who hoped to succeed on a vacancy, connived at the libel, and quietly put up with their share of the disgrace.

Had the pretence not been made, the publication could not have appeared with consistency, and would have failed in its effect; for it was the gratification which the public felt at being appealed to, because it was said, Congress had "*shut their ears*" that gave zeal and vehemence to their suspicions. But the pretence being made and believed, produced an effect far beyond, if not contrary to, what the contrivers expected. The uproar against Congress was greater than against the Commissioners; and while Mr. Deane's advocates

in the House were hoping to be sent abroad as Ambassadors, the cry out of doors was a *new Congress.* By this overspun piece of craft, they undermined the ground upon which they expected to rise, and instead of succeeding to the end, their personal honor fell a sacrifice to the means. The public placed Mr. Deane at one end of the beam, and Congress at the other, and the idea struck so naturally that if what Mr. Deane said was true, it was time that Congress should be removed and changed. And, on the other hand, if what he said was not true, the support and patronage they have since given him is a dishonour to the dignity of the United States.

I shall conclude this paper with remarking, that we have hitherto confounded two distinct things together, which ought to be kept separate; I mean, *the sovereignty of the United States*, and the *delegated representation of that sovereignty in Congress.* It may happen, and perhaps does now happen, that the character of the latter falls far short of the former; or why is it that the first is rising, and the latter sinking?

Under obligations to no one state on the Continent more than to another, and not at all to any, I take my view largely over the whole, and convinced that their interest and happiness is *one*, and that that which in foreign affairs affects any must affect all, I have, through the course of this business, made no distinction of states, or ever mean to do so.

At the period we are now arrived, nothing can hurt us but want of honesty; and until Mr. Deane can clear up his character, those who have so connivingly supported him in Congress, will find it difficult to make good their own. I lay myself open to the world; I neither secret my thoughts nor disown my publications; and if there is a man in America uninfluenced and independent, I think I may justly claim that character.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, April 10th, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, April 13, 1779.

To Samuel B. Webb.

Philadelphia, April 17, 1778 [1779].

Dear Col.,—I hope to see you in a few days; I shall therefore say only that I propose to set out for Camp next Tuesday at the farthest, but if you arrive there, pay no regard to this, but come on as fast as possible to Philadelphia, for if you meet me on the road, it will be as well, perhaps better. I shall go by Trenton, Princeton, and so on the common Road direct to Basken Ridge, where if you arrive before me, come on to meet me. Whatever you may obtain of intelligence I wish to learn of you personally, for the practice of intercepting letters prevails, and there are those who are base enough to intercept, and wicked enough to put the worst construction on everything.

Wishing you success, I am, my Dear Col.,

Yours,

S. Deane.

To Col. S. B. Webb.

Ford's Correspondence of Samuel B. Webb, II. 165.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 17th April, 1779.

Sir,—I ask liberty to refer to the two last letters, which I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 30th ult. and 2d instant, and which remain unanswered. In them I mentioned the situation to which I was brought by my being detained in this city, the difficulties and distresses of which have been ever since daily increasing.

I will not take up the time of Congress by entering into a detail of circumstances (many of the honorable members are not unacquainted with them); but inform Congress that I am under the necessity of going out of town early in next week, and considering myself at the orders of Congress, pray to be informed if they have any commands for me, which render it necessary that I defer any longer to leave Philadelphia. My own family

and private affairs, as well as those of one intrusted to my care, have long suffered by my absence; they must suffer to the last degree, if longer neglected.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 186.

To BARNABAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, 19th April, 1779.

DEAR BROTHER,—Col. Oswald will call on you with this. I have received no Letters from you for some time past, and am desirous of knowing in what manner Col. Wadsworth and you have agreed to proceed in the affair you formerly wrote to me of. Public matters are Conducted at this moment worse than at any preceding Period, and our Prospects are such as are painful even in Contemplation; unless a Radical Change take place, both in men and Measures, this Country will suffer, to the last Degree. Would to God the mischief might fall only on the Authors, but Individuals, even the most virtuous must be involved, whilst Men who from the first have had nothing at stake, will Triumph in the general Calamity. The War will be pushed hard this Summer, and I fear that Boston will have the Calamities of War, to suffer, in addition to those of Famine; I will not dwell on the gloomy Subject, having wrote my mind very fully to Govr. Trumbull, and consequently have done my Duty, being but a private Individual, and determined ever to remain such in future. I design to set out tomorrow for Head Quarters in the Jersies on a visit, and for Exercise, from whence I shall write to you.

I am in haste, Dear Brother, Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

To Barnabas Deane, Esq[r],
Merchant at Weathersfield.

Thomas Mss.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 26th April, 1779.

Sir,—As I have received no reply to my letters of the 30th ultimo and 2d instant, I take the liberty of applying again to Congress, to remind them of my situation. It is now more than twelve months since, in obedience to their orders, I left France, to return to my native country. Having employed the short interval, between the receiving advice of my recall and my embarking, in soliciting essential aid and succor for these States, I entered on my voyage with the pleasing reflection, that after a two years' faithful service, in a most difficult and embarrassed negotiation, the issue had been fortunate, equal to my utmost wishes; that the supplies I had procured and sent out, had enabled my brave countrymen and fellow citizens to resist and humble the enemy; that the treaty which I had the honor, with my colleagues, to conclude, had engaged one of the most powerful and generous princes in the world to guaranty the liberties and independence of these States.

The great and seasonable aid sent out by him, with which (after having received the most honorable testimonials of his approbation, and even of his esteem, as well as that of his ministers, and of my late worthy colleague and friend, Dr. Franklin) I had the honor to embark, gave me in prospect the completion of my most sanguine hopes—the total reduction of the British force in North America. Unfortunately the length of our passage defeated the most essential objects of this great and well concerted enterprise. Extensive and important services were, however, thereby rendered, on which I need not be particular. Immediately on my landing in America, *I repaired with all possible dispatch to Congress, to inform them of the state of affairs in Europe*, which I had been advised, by their resolution, was the business I was ordered to return upon. Between my arrival in this city, on the

13th of July, and my audience before Congress, on the 21st of August, I was informed that the minds of some of my countrymen were prejudiced against me, and that insinuations were industriously circulated to effect others; I therefore took the earliest opportunity given me, and after having laid before Congress a general state of foreign affairs and of my proceedings, to request that if any thing had been laid to my charge, or suggested to my disadvantage, I might be made acquainted therewith, for that it was probable that in the difficult, complicated, and embarrassed scenes I had gone through, many things might require explanation. I received no reply, and continuing to solicit to have the business I returned upon concluded, I was informed that an honorable member produced in Congress an extract from a letter from a private gentleman, respecting a conversation which passed between him and Mr. Carmichael, which implied a censure on my conduct. On the 26th of September, Mr. Secretary Thomson acquainted me with the resolution of Congress of that day, to postpone further consideration of my requests, *until the examination of William Carmichael.*

What the result of that examination was I never knew, but having waited some days, the urgent necessity for my speedy return pressing on me, I applied again, and repeatedly, that I might finish the business upon which I had been sent for. Days were repeatedly appointed for that purpose, and I must suppose business of more importance prevented. In those letters I laid before Congress the unsettled state in which I had, by my sudden departure, been obliged to leave the accounts and other mercantile transactions of the commissioners, and pointed out the injuries which the public must suffer by a delay of their settlement, as well as the personal inconveniences I must be subjected to whilst they remain unsettled. To these letters I beg leave to refer. In October, extracts from letters from Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr.

Izard were, by order of Congress, delivered me; to which I replied at large, on the 12th and 22nd of the same month; my letters are still before Congress, and to them I refer, particularly to that of the 12th, which closes in these words:

"As in commercial transactions there are but two sides to an account, and every thing goes to the debit or credit, the folio for profit or loss, so I must solicit that Dr. Franklin and the honorable Mr. Adams may be directed to see the settlement of all those accounts immediately on my return to Paris, and as there has been a charge made by Mr. Lee, of profusion, of extravagant contracts, and the like, that those gentlemen be authorised to submit those accounts, with every allegation of the kind, to the adjustment and determination of gentlemen of ability and character on the spot, and that orders may be given, that whatever may be found due from the commissioners, or either of them, may be instantly paid into the hands of the banker for Congress, and that in like manner said banker may be ordered to pay whatever may be the balance, to the person in whose favor the same shall be found. By this means truth will be demonstrated, and justice done, which is all I have ever wished for."

In December last I was directed to lay before Congress in writing, a narrative of my proceedings whilst their commercial and political agent, &c. I must ask leave to refer to that narrative at large, as many of the honorable members then in Congress are now absent, and the representatives of several of the States entirely changed. On a reference it will be found that I again solicited for as early a decision as possible on my conduct, that the most thorough examination might be made, and to demonstrate what my commercial conduct had been whilst the agent of these States, that my accounts might be put in the way of being settled without delay, that the part I had acted, and the station I had been in, could not

be considered as a neutral or indifferent one, and that approbation or censure was my due, &c., &c. When I was favored with that audience, I flattered myself that the delays I had met with had given ample time for the most full and perfect scrutiny into every part of my conduct, and that if any charges were to be brought against any part of my conduct, I should then be informed of them. I therefore again requested to know if there were any. I was informed of none. Soon after I was told that a committee was appointed to examine into and report on foreign affairs. I previously informed Congress that I had no copies of the letters wrote to them by the commissioners from Paris; that Doctor Franklin took the care of them; and that my having no apprehension of being questioned on them, I had not taken duplicates with me, therefore requested that I might explain anything which might at first sight appear dubious or contradictory.

I afterwards applied to the members of the honorable committee, desiring that if in the course of their examination anything should appear doubtful, or such as might support a charge against any part of my conduct, I might be heard, before any report should be made. I did not receive copies of the letters, nor was I ever called upon by the committee, who I am informed have made their report, as to which I am wholly uninformed. Soon after this report was delivered to Congress, having been persecuted in the public papers for several months, in the most scandalous, virulent, and licentious manner, and accused before the public of crimes of the blackest complexion, I again addressed myself to Congress, and as their servant claimed their protection, and that I might be heard in the most public manner, or in any other way they thought proper. This letter of the 30th of March remains unanswered, and I now pray the content of it may be considered. The part I acted as political agent and commissioner for Congress is well known,

and may be judged of with certainty at this time, and the settlement of mine and the commissioners' accounts (which I have repeatedly solicited) will demonstrate what my commercial conduct has been. If in the commercial I have not acted with prudence and integrity; if I have neglected to supply these States with stores to the utmost of my power, and have either wasted or embezzled the public monies, the interest of the public requires that speedy justice be done, and the settlement of the Commissioners' accounts will at once acquit or condemn me. If in my political department I have in any instance neglected or betrayed the interests of my country, if I have conducted weakly or wickedly, or both, the public ought to know it, and I ought to be punished. If, on the contrary, I sacrificed all private considerations, and put my life as well as fortune to the hazard, to procure relief and assistance for these States from abroad; if, unsupported by remittances from hence, without credit or friends, and a stranger to the language and manners of the country I was sent to negotiate in, I surmounted every obstacle, and in a few months obtained and sent out large supplies; if I was assiduous and indefatigable for the space of near two years in France, in the commercial as well as political affairs of these States, at times even to my personal danger; if, so far from having embezzled the public monies, I neglected my private fortune, and received nothing but my necessary expenses whilst transacting this business; if a principal share of the political negotiations fell on me, and if jointly with my colleagues I brought them to a happy and honorable issue, and individually acquired the confidence and esteem of His Most Christian Majesty and his ministers, as well as of the nation in general; and if, at my private solicitations (in part) after my recall, a strong fleet and armament were sent out to the relief of these States; if these are facts, which they certainly are, and the greater part of them long since fully ascertained, and the others ascertainable by the settle-

ment of the Commissioners' accounts (which I have from the first requested) I flatter myself justice will be done by Congress, and that the artifices of interested and wicked men will not prevail to delay it, and thereby injure the public and their servant more essentially, than injustice itself would do.

I, therefore, with the sensibility of an innocent yet injured man, and with the firmness of a free, independent citizen, ask for justice, fully confident that Congress will not refuse or delay it. I owe too much to those great personages who generously patronized and protected me in Europe, to my countrymen and to myself, to suffer my character and conduct to remain longer under any uncertainty. When the part I acted abroad in the service of these States, my recall, the circumstances of my return, my reception, and the delays I have since met with, are reviewed, I think my case will be found peculiar.

Permit me, then, to repeat, that my services have been in two departments, political and commercial. Every thing respecting the first is already well known, the closing of the accounts will demonstrate what the latter has been; on the first, Congress is now able to judge; justice to the public as well as to myself calls for their determination. If there are charges against me in either of the characters I have supported, I must consider myself entitled to know what they are, and to be permitted to answer.

I cannot close this letter without complaining to Congress of the abuse I have met with in the public papers from a writer who was lately their confidential servant, and who has abused their confidence to deceive and impose on the free citizens of these States, and to injure me in the public opinion; also of the partial and injurious manner in which I have been treated by others who, deeply interested by family and other connexions to support my enemies, represent my conduct and the letters written by the Commissioners and myself as inconsistent and contradictory, whilst I remain deprived

of any opportunity to explain them. My utmost ambition and wishes have ever been to serve these States, and to merit the title of their faithful and approved servant; nothing can deprive me of the consciousness of having served faithfully and with integrity. If my country have no further service for me, my first object as well as my duty must be to justify my conduct, and to rescue my reputation and character from the injury and abuse of wicked men, and to do this I again ask of Congress what I consider as my right, their decision on my conduct as their servant; and if any part thereof is questioned, I may be permitted to explain and vindicate the same, which I have often said, and again repeat, the settlement of the Commissioners' accounts will enable me to do, even to mathematical demonstration. Any further delay in my case must have all the consequences of a refusal, and as I have ever relied with confidence on the justice of Congress, and long waited their decision, I flatter myself it will no longer be postponed. I shall leave Philadelphia in the course of this week on my private affairs, and wish to do it as early as possible.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 187.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 27th April, 1779.

SIR,—I heard yesterday, by accident, that an honorable gentleman in Congress had made a calculation from the general account, which I gave in my Narrative of the price of the clothes purchased in France, and that given by M. Holker, in a memorial of his, and had drawn consequences very injurious to me therefrom. In my Narrative I informed Congress that the clothes cost 32s. or 33s. sterling complete delivered on

board. This was nearly the average price, and of that, and not of the particular, I spoke. 32s. sterling is equal to 36 livres, 11 sols, 5 deniers. The clothes bought of Messrs. Sabbatier and Desprez cost 36 livres nearest, delivered on board; those of Mons. Monthieu, a few sols more; those by Mr. Williams, the same, nearly as I recollect; and about a thousand suits of M. Coder, of a different fashion, more than 40 livres each. I have before related to Congress, that Mr. Lee himself approved of these purchases, having been present at the contracting for a part of them, those of M. Coder in particular, and had signed the settlement of the accounts, and orders or drafts for the money.

Surprised at the calculation made, and the injurious inferences drawn therefrom, I wrote to M. Holker the enclosed letter, and received his answer thereto, a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing. 37 livres being equal to 32s. 4½d. sterling, it is evident that the calculation made is wrong, even if I had fixed the price positively at 32s. or 33s. sterling.

I will not trouble Congress at present with any further observations on the subject,

But am, with much respect, &c.

SILAS DEANE.

[Enclosures.]

Philadelphia, 26th April, 1779.

SIR,—I was this day surprised to hear, that in a Memorial you had presented to Congress, you had said that the suits of clothes furnished by Messrs. Sabbatier and Desprez ought not to cost (or did not cost) more than 32 or 34 livres each, delivered in the ports of France. Permit me to remind you, that these clothes were transported from Paris, and the other places where they were made up, to the sea ports, at the expense of the Commissioners; that they cost something more than 34 livres, exclusive of the trans-

portation, as I am positive the accounts themselves will show. I must therefore presume, if my information is right, that you may be under some mistake as to this matter, and therefore pray you, if you have the copies of these accounts, that you will turn to them, which must convince you of it, or the error is with me, for, as I recollect, these suits of clothes cost when delivered on board, nearest 36 livres on an average, and those purchased from Mons. Monthieu, a trifle more, and those from M. Coder, which were of a different fashion, considerably more; this occasioned my saying generally, in my Narrative to Congress, that the suits cost 32s. or 33s. sterling, of which difference in our accounts advantage has been taken against me, though I spoke generally, referring to the accounts and contracts themselves to correct me if I erred. You will therefore oblige me by explaining the above, if you have the account, or if you recollect the circumstance of that transaction.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,

SILAS DEANE.

To Mons. J. Holker.

Philadelphia, 26th April, 1779.

SIR,—I have this moment received your favor of this date. In my Memorial to Congress, I said that each complete suit ought not to cost more than 33 or 34 livres (not 32 or 34) delivered in the sea ports. I spoke totally from memory, and believe I have made a mistake, by taking the price in Paris, or Montpelier, for the price at which they would stand at the sea ports.

Admitting my error, they would cost no more than 36 or 37 livres the suit, according to the best calculation I can make from memory.

I have the honor to remain, most sincerely, &c.

HOLKER.

To Silas Deane, Esq.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 194.

James Lovell to Benjamin Franklin.

(Private.) Philadelphia, April 29th, 1779.

Sir,—As the Books and papers of the Committee of foreign affairs remain on the Table of Congress to be used in the public Deliberations which still continue upon a fruitful subject, begun last September, you do not at this time receive any official letter from that Committee. But I will not omit the good opportunity by Mr. Smith, son of the Commissioner of the Loan Office here, to assure you individually of my Regards.

I hope you have long before now received your Credentials as Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States. There was a disagreeable Lentor in the public proceedings at first, and in the sending forward your Testimonials afterwards. From this source it is, I suppose, that confidential Communications have not been made to you by the French Court, so as to furnish matter for your Dispatches to Congress, while such have been made to us in another Channel.

Sir, it behooves you much to let your Constituents hear often from you, lest it should be fully credited among us that there is but one man in the universe that can be pleasing to the Court of France as a Minister from hence.

The Recall of Mr. Deane has given Birth to very singular Writings and measures. You have escaped all considerable Injuries, tho' you have been comprehended in some propositions not altogether honorary, as you will shortly see by the Journals which are to be printed weekly. I ought, however, now, to give you the satisfaction of knowing that the Question about your Recall was only a kind of necessary Consequence flowing from the Adoption of a Fact on which to found a principle that might destroy the Commissions of Messrs. Lee and Izard, particularly Mr. A. Lee's.

In my opinion the improper triplicate appointment for the Court of France produced, in very natural Consequence, "Suspicions and Animosities." But these Evils ought not to be made Reasons for depriving the public of the Services of men whose great Abilities, Integrity and Industry may be exerted in distinct Trusts without the like future Inconveniences. Disappointed views have generated an Implacability against the falsely supposed Cause of that Disappointment. Nothing short of the Ruin of the Reputation of Arthur Lee will glut the malice of a party formed against him by that Spirit of assassinating Innuendo which so eminently governs his Arch Enemy.

I expect to be able in a few days to communicate to you the Decision of Congress in Regard to the other Gentlemen, and some particular Instructions for your own Government. I refer you to the Gazettes for a general state of military proceedings, and to common Fame for the ill Condition of our Currency.

I am, Sir, Your most humble Servt.,

JAMES LOVELL.

Honble Doctor B. Franklin.

Holbrooke Mss.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 30th April, 1779.

SIR,—In my letter of Monday last, I mentioned my intention to leave town in the course of the week. I am now waiting for no other purpose, but to know if Congress will take notice of the requests I have so often troubled them with. The circumstances under which I left France, in obedience to their orders, and with a view of promoting their service in the greatest and most essential manner (it is well known) rendered it impossible to have the accounts of the Commissioners and my own, connected immediately with theirs, settled and closed, so that the vouchers could be procured and brought out with me. But a few days past

between the knowledge of my recall and of my actual setting out on my return.

One condition of sending out the Toulon fleet, and of my embarking in it was, that the most profound secrecy should be observed, and the greatest despatch made. The King's ministers did not think fit to communicate this secret to my colleague, Mr. Lee, nor did they leave me at liberty to do it; I had as little grounds for confidence in that gentleman as the ministers had, and it is evident from their letters and declarations that they never had any. Yet such is my peculiar situation, that I find myself blamed and censured by many in Congress as well as out, for not having performed an impossibility, and am represented as a defaulter, as having misapplied or embezzled the public monies, at once to prevent my future usefulness to my country, and to the ruin of my private fortune and character. Thus situated, I can but appeal once more to the justice of Congress, and remind them that I brought with me and delivered them, it is now more than seven months since, an account from under the banker's hands, of all the monies received and paid out by him, and to whom paid; that in my letter of the 12th of October, I explained to Congress for what purposes those payments were made, and in my answers to Mr. Lee's objections to these contracts, that I proved him to have been acquainted with them, and that he signed himself the orders for the money, for the greater part of them. I am informed, by several honorable gentlemen in Congress, that many of the members, from their absence at the time, or from their taking their seats since the delivering in of that account and my letter of the 12th of October, are to this moment uninformed of either. This obliges me to refer them at this time, and though I have not the vouchers to support every article, yet I will cheerfully put my reputation as a merchant, as an honest man, and as a frugal servant of the public, on the examination of

those accounts, the circumstances under which they were taken at the same time to be considered.

That account commences in February, 1777, and ends the 27th day of March, 1778, three days before my leaving Paris. It will show that the whole amount of the monies received by the Commissioners was 3,753,250 livres, and their expenditures 4,046,988 livres, 7 sols, and by the general state of the account delivered the 12th of October, it appears for what those expenditures were made. After deducting the sums paid for large contracts for supplies, &c., which are particularised, there will be left 219,250 livres, 1 sol, 11 deniers, equal to £9,644. 8. 7½ sterling for the Commissioners' expenses, for almost fifteen months, and for small purchases, and for a variety of services not possible to be particularised without the accounts at large. I might with safety rest this whole sum on the score of the Commissioners' expenses for this space of time, and support it on Mr. Lee's letter to Congress, in which he says, that Mr. Adams and himself were fully convinced that they could not live at Paris under £3,000 sterling (or about 70,000 livres) each annually. Had the Commissioners expended at that rate, from February, 1777, to March, 1778, the whole of the sum would be no more than a sufficiency to supply their expenses; but this was not the case. The Commissioners, in the whole, received out of it the sum of 115,480 livres, 5 sols, 6 deniers, for their expenses and private disbursements, as will appear by the account enclosed; of this Dr. Franklin received 27,841 livres, Mr. Lee, 52,039 livres, 5 sols, 9 deniers, and myself 35,600 livres. It is true, at the same time, that Mr. Lee had in his hands the whole of the money received from Spain, which he disposed of without the interference of the other Commissioners.

I appeal to the honorable gentlemen in Congress, then present, and perfectly well acquainted with our mode and style of living, to inform Congress on which of the Commissioners the greatest expense of provid-

ing for and entertaining the Americans, who visited them at Paris, or who escaped from prison in England, and applied for relief, fell. I lay this general state before Congress, to convince them how very far I was from being prodigal of the public monies, and that the accounts delivered, general as they are, are sufficient to exculpate me from every charge of peculation or extravagance. My future reputation and fortune depend much on my mercantile character in these transactions, and I rely on the justice of Congress to prevent its being any longer undeservedly sported with, villified, and abused.

Under the load of calumny and abuse I have for some months sustained, I have had this consolation, that the services I had rendered my country had been long since sensibly felt by her, and that they would one day be acknowledged ; but when returning to the character of a private citizen in the mercantile line, I cannot sit down easy under imputations injurious to my private character.

I have long since requested to have these accounts examined into, on the spot, where only a full and minute investigation can be made, and that they should be settled as justice required. I now repeat my request, and that previous thereto, the accounts laid before Congress be examined, from which alone will appear, if there be any ground even for suspicion, and that I may be permitted to obviate, if in my power here, any objections that may be made. The mode in which the monies were received for the Commissioners' use at Paris, the source from whence they came, with other circumstances relative, are such that I have not thought it consistent with the interest, the policy, or even the delicacy of Congress, or others, to lay the case at large before my countrymen, though I found myself injured in their opinion by the abuse constantly thrown out against me in the papers, and from my silence on the subject. I have ever been, and still remain, confident that a general examination of the

accounts, even in the state they are, must prove satisfactory to Congress, and that a minute investigation will show me to have merited their approbation, and not their censure. My first duty is to satisfy Congress, in whose determinations the public will undoubtedly acquiesce, and to them therefore I have constantly made my application on this subject.

I will make no apology for troubling them so long at this time; my situation is, I trust, a sufficient one. I have only to add, that having delayed to leave the town beyond the time I proposed in my last, I hope for an early answer, and have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and attachment, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

[Enclosure.]

Account of monies paid by Mr. Grand to Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, for their particular use, and charged by him as paid immediately to them.

To Benjamin Franklin.	Livres.
14th July, 1777	4800. 0. 0
25th September	4001. 0. 0
15th November	8000. 0. 0
29th December	2400. 0. 0
2d March	3600. 0. 0
25th March	4800. 0. 0
	27,601. 0. 0
10th March	240. 0. 0
	27,841. 0. 0

To Silas Deane.	Livres.
1st July, 1777	2400. 0. 0
29th August	4800. 0. 0
16th September	4800. 0. 0
7th October	2400. 0. 0

To Silas Deane.	Livres.
20th November	2700. 0. 0
11th December	2400. 0. 0
21st December	2400. 0. 0
13th January	4000. 0. 0
12th February	2500. 0. 0
17th March	4800. 0. 0
24th March	2400. 0. 0
	35,600. 0. 0

To Arthur Lee.	Livres.
August	2400. 0. 0
8th October	4800. 0. 0
12th November	2400. 0. 0
December	2400. 0. 0
23d November	22,519. 5. 6
23d December	2400. 0. 0
January	720. 0. 0
11th January	4800. 0. 0
"	2400. 0. 0
16th February	2400. 0. 0
6th March	4800. 0. 0
	52,039. 5. 6
	35,600. 0. 0
	27,841. 0. 0
	115,480. 5. 6

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 197.

Information Respecting Arthur Lee.

Read before Congress by William Paca, April 30, 1779.

The undersigned, Members of the Congress of the United States of North America, have the honor to inform the said Congress:

That upon good grounds having been led to believe

that the conduct of Arthur Lee, Esq., late one of the Commissioners representing these United States at the Court of Versailles, and now sole Commissioner to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid, was disgustful to those Courts, unconciliatory to their Subjects, and prejudicial to the Honor and Interest of the said States; they were astonished to hear an assertion made in Congress on the 15th instant by an honorable Member from Massachusetts Bay, as from the highest authority in America, that the said Commissioner is possessed of the confidence of the Court of Versailles, and since another assertion by another honorable Member from the same State, that the said Commissioner is the most proper Person to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid; assertions which, being made in the debates upon foreign affairs, were made to influence Congress to continue the said Arthur Lee, Esq., as the public Minister of the said United States to the Court of Madrid at the expected negotiations for a general pacification under the mediation of that Court.

That the undersigned, impressed with a conviction that in such an important conjuncture the Minister to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid ought not to be disagreeable to that Court, nor to the Court of Versailles, in faithful alliance with these States, and that the Interest of the said States demanded that it should be precisely ascertained whether or not the said Commissioner was disagreeable to the said Courts, for certain information upon this point they have, from the necessity of the case, been compelled to apply to the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, residing near Congress, as the highest source of information in America.

That, in consequence of such application, the Minister Plenipotentiary produced to the undersigned an original letter to him from the Count de Vergennes, Minister for foreign affairs at the Court of Versailles, dated the 29th of October, 1778, in which, after having

stated the intelligence which has been communicated to Congress by the Minister Plenipotentiary in February last, and after having assigned some reasons for not having communicated that intelligence to the American Commissioners in Paris, the Count de Vergennes concludes in these terms: "Je vous avouerai d'ailleurs que je crains M. Lee, ses entours"—Besides, I confess to you that I fear Mr. Lee and those about him.

That the Minister Plenipotentiary added that this consideration induced the Court of Versailles to keep secret from the said Commissioner the intended sailing of the Count d'Estaing for America until his fleet was ready to put to sea; that the said Commissioner, by his conduct on several occasions, created the highest disgust in the Court of Versailles against him.

That the Court of Madrid, in the closest connection with that of Versailles, entertained the same sentiments respecting the said Commissioner, not only on account of his conduct on those occasions, but because of his imprudent conduct in Spain; and, in a word, the Minister Plenipotentiary expressly declared that he has every reason to think that neither of those Courts have that confidence in the said Commissioner which is necessary to give success to the negotiations of a foreign Minister.

The undersigned, having received such decisive information from the Minister of France, with liberty to communicate it to Congress, think it is their indispensable duty to the United States and to themselves to lay the same explicitly before this, the supreme council of America; to the end that they may not be misled to continue the said Commissioner as the Representative of these United States at a Court in the highest manner disgusted at his conduct, and at which, of consequence, his negotiations must be unsuccessful. But if, unfortunately, it shall be disregarded, they will have the consolation to reflect that in giving this information they discharge their duty to the United States; and that, having given it, they can

not justly be held responsible for the consequences of a measure but too likely to prove unconciliatory abroad, ruinous to the public finances at home, and an impediment to a speedy and honorable pacification securing the Independence of the United States of North America.

WM. PACA.

[Endorsed.] WM. HY. DRAYTON.

Laid on the table, and read April 30, 1779.

Thomas Mss.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Monday, May 3, 1779. Congress resumed the consideration of the report on foreign affairs, and the question under debate being stated, viz., Shall Mr. Arthur Lee be recalled?

Mr. Carmichael arose and informed the house, "That as the committee appointed by Congress to examine into the state of their foreign affairs have thought proper to refer to him for information on the charges reported by them against some of the public servants abroad, and as some gentlemen have expressed a desire he should reduce to writing the information he gave the house in his place when those charges were read, he was induced to indulge their wishes, as well to show more explicitly the reasons which determined his voice on the decision of a question on which he thinks the honor and interest of the United States highly depends." He then proceeded to lay on the table a paper signed by him, which, with sundry papers therein referred to, was read.

Journals of Congress.

Mr. Carmichael's Statement.

The Committee appointed by Congress to examine into the State of their Foreign affairs, having thought proper to refer to the underwritten for information on the charges they reported against some of the Public

servants abroad, and some Gentlemen having expressed a desire he should reduce to writing the information he gave the House in his place, when these charges were read, he is induced to indulge their wishes as well as to show more explicitly the reasons which determined his voice on the decision of a question in which he thinks the honor and interest of the United States highly depends.

He has frequently declared that Mr. Arthur Lee had not the confidence of the court of France. His reasons for this declaration are, among others, that he was repeatedly told this by Messrs. De Beaumarchais, Ray de Chaumont, the Chevalier Grand and his Brother Mr. Grand, Gentlemen who all at various times acted as secret agents between the Commissioners and the court of France, in whose assertions he placed confidence, because he saw that the Court intrusted them with secrets of the highest importance, and because he never found Himself deceived by these Gentlemen in any other information he had the honor to receive from them, while employed by the Commissioners abroad. He was informed and believes, that this want of Confidence arose from information given by Mr. Garnier, Chargé des Affaires for the Court of Versailles at London. That Lord Shelburne and Mr. Arthur Lee left London in concert to visit France immediately after the arrival of Mr. Deane in that Country. He believes that the Court was confirmed in these suspicions by Mr. Lee's visits to Lord Shelburne while at Paris, and he knows that several of high rank were alarmed and apprehensive that the secrets of the Court would be betrayed from this connection with the opposition in England, as will appear from the following extract of instructions given by the Count D'Estaing to Mr. Deane at the very time Lord Shelburne was at Paris. A copy of the instructions is in the hands of the underwritten transcrib'd from the original by Colonel Nicholas Rogers of Maryland, and Himself, when he received a message

from the Count D'Estaing desiring Him to return it.

"L'amité secrette des enterets qui existe entre la France, l'Espagne et les Americains etant plus grande plus durable plus necessaire que celle que attache les Anglais de l'opposition au sort de'l Amerique, il en resulte que Monsr. Deane doit avoir plus de confiance dans ces deux puissances que dans des particuliers qui ne veulent uniquement que chasser des Ministres pour remplacer. Il semble aussi que sa confiance dans les membres de l'opposition ne doit pas aller jusq'a leur dire tout ce que la France et l'Espagne [*illegible*] en promettent de faire; L'esperance de causer une revolution dans le ministre anglais sufferait peutetre pour en rendre la publication aussi avantageux ou par l'opposition qu'elle serait nuisible a l'Amerique: rien est plus à redoutter que à voir la bonne volonté se changer en mefiance, car en negotiation la mefiance [*torn* igne?] ceux que l'interet reproche. Il semble aussi qu'il faut soigneusement [*torn* ter] de compromettre, d'embarasser une grande puissance sur des petits objets de [*torn*] dans le temps qu'on en espere des grands services. C'est encore sur ce point important que les veritables interets de l'amerique different de ceux du parti de l'opposition." This suspicion was farther confirmed by Mr. Lee's connection with Count De Lauregais, of whom Count D'Estaing speaks in the following manner in the piece above mentioned. "Excepté son entime liason avec Monsr. Le Compte De Lauregais, et que l'amitie de ce dernier pour my Lor Shelburne dont l'addresse et les projets sont connus pourrait faire transpirer ce que le Ministre de France voudrait que fut ignoré, sans que cet accident arrivat par la Faute ni par le canal der charge des affaires, de l'Amerique." Mr. Lee Himself was so sensible of this suspicion, that he wrote to Monsr. Le Compte de Vergennes or Monsr. Gerard on the subject, which letter was carried by the underwritten to the Bureau for foreign affairs at

Versailles, and Mr. Lee received an answer, a copy of which no doubt he transmitted to some one of his correspondents on this side of the Atlantic. Lord Shelburne is particularly disagreeable to the Bourbon courts, because he formed the design of exciting a revolt in Mexico and for this purpose pensioned a French Nobleman, a Major General in the service of France, who had offered his aid to effect this, from his acquaintance with the principal inhabitants of that part of the New World, and the underwritten was informed that the Count D'Estaing alluded to this project in the above extract. The honorable notice taken of the underwritten in consequence of the strong recommendations of the Marquis de la Fayette to his Family and their connections gave him an opportunity of knowing the sentiments of many persons of high rank and influence, and theirs corresponded entirely with what has been before related. The consideration which the underwritten enjoyed from their notice will appear by the letter annexed, which he would have blushed to place on the files of Congress had they not been already loaded with gross misrepresentation of his conduct, and, as he hopes, unmerited abuse. The same Gentlemen and others informed him that Mr. Lee was equally disagreeable to the Count D'Aranda, and he knows that the Spanish Minister at the Hague expressed his chagrin on hearing that Mr. Lee was appointed Commissioner to Spain in the place of Doctor Franklin. Count D'Aranda declared that Mr. Lee's intended visit to Madrid was known to most of the Bankers there, before he quitted the French Dominions, and that this notoriety occasioned the English Ambassador to expostulate with the Spanish Ministry, which induced the necessity of sending a Gentleman to meet him at Burgos. It was well known in England that Mr. Lee was gone to Spain, as will appear by the following extract of a letter from Edward Bancroft to the underwritten, dated London, March 4th, 1777. "Mr Sayre is now

out of Confinement and desirous of some kind of employment out of England; probably he will pay our friends a visit. He regrets that Prince Arthur has left France. Lord Shelburne told Lord Cambden that he was sent to Spain on account of his connection with him Lord Shelburne."

The animosities among the Commissioners are so publicly known that the underwritten deems it unnecessary to enlarge on the subject. He cannot, however, omit observing that jealousies and suspicions took place before Mr. Lee's appointment between that Gentleman and Mr. Deane, as will appear from a letter of the former to the underwritten, dated October, 1776, a copy of which is in the possession of the House, being put into the hands of the Committee to whom were referrd the letters of Messrs. Lee, Franklin, Deane, and Izard, respecting the underwritten. He begs leave to produce an extract of a letter in answer to Mr. Lee, in which he endeaverd to remove his jealousies, and he appeals to Mr. Deane if he did not write to him about the same time, to remove the cause by writing frequently to Mr. Lee.

The extract is as follows from a letter written from Amsterdam, dated Nov. 1st, 1776: "Believe me, my Dear Sir, that anything which is likely to hurt the common cause gives me, as well as yourself, much uneasiness. I know no other reason for Mr. D——'s silence than the busy life he leads, or that he trusted while I resided with him he could by my means answer with greater security to you, your Letters. I believe no difference subsists between him and your Brothers in America; what has happened since I left Paris, I am ignorant of, &c., &c." . . .

The underwritten thought those jealousies and animosities disgracefull, because they impeded the transaction of Public Business, and because they were so public as to be known to almost every Frenchman and American who visited either of the Commissioners; Injurious because being known to your Enemies. If

Doctor Berkenhout is to be credited, they prevented an application to your Commissioners to bring about a reconciliation, untill Mr. Arthur Lee could inform him that this difference would not render an application ineffectual, or to that purpose. Injurious in another way, because our Enemies were encouraged to prosecute war on a supposition that these jealousies and animosities would render our negotiation at the French Court unsuccessfull. This will appear from the following extract of a letter from Matthew Ridley to the underwritten, dated London, Novr. 18th, 1777.—

"It has already been held out *here* that your Councils are weak, that dissension prevails among you, that Congress in their appointments of Men of such jarring tempers have discovered a great want of Judgement, and that this circumstance must, in time, without other assistance, effectually ruin your [chances]. This is held out without real knowledge or information to spirit the people here in prosecuting the War. In some measure it has its effect. If so, in this State of it, how much more so when they think they have real foundation?" The underwritten is sorry to repeat what abundant evidence in the possession of the House, has already told them of the unconciliatory disposition of Mr. Lee; 'tis sufficient to know that he has disgusted the French Court, his colleagues Messrs. Franklin and Deane, Messrs. Chaumont, Beaumarchais, the two Grands, all men in confidence of the Court, besides Bancroft, Moylan, Ross, Williams, Jones, Nicholson, and many others whom it is needless to mention. The underwritten would be still more sorry to record little anecdotes which would disgracey our files, the persons of whom they are related, and even the relator. If, however, any Gentlemen are *interested* or desirous of farther information, He assures them on his honor that he will give them in private every satisfaction which such curiosity merits. The originals of the copies produced may be seen by any gentleman who chuses to apply to the underwritten. The late Debates in Congress on the

subject of conversations with the Minister might excuse the underwritten from commenting on the attempt made to misrepresent his sentiments while abroad. He cannot help observing, however, that it must appear very extraordinary that he should say to men whom he scarce knew, and saw but seldom, what several of the Gentlemen who were his Friends and Constant Companions at Nantes cannot recollect, altho' one of them lived in the house with him for some time. He will content himself with submitting copies of their letters to him on the subject of the extracts and copies of letter he received by Thornton from Mr. Arthur Lee with the answer he returned by the same person, who staid but two days at Nantes, and leave the Candid to Judge whether he could, in the temper of mind he then was, speak in the manner he is represented to have done.

Wm. Carmichael.

Philadelphia, May 3rd 1779.

[Enclosure.]

Philadelphia, 9th April, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I have perused the extracts of Letters written by Messrs. Loyd, Stepenson, and Thornton, dated ye. 22, 24th, of January, and 1st and 20th of Feby., and I am surprised to find Sentiments ascribed to you so different from those I have heard you deliver in social parties, when the subject was mentioned, which happened frequently during your stay at Nantes, and on the passage in the Ship Deane from that Port, to America.

I well remember that you always spoke with warmth and resentment of Mr. Deane's personal Ill-treatment of yourself, but made a distinction between his publick and private Conduct; and altho' you did not appear to give full approbation of the former, you readily admitted that he had more merit in the transaction of Publick business than the other Commissioners. I

also noticed that you both at Nantes and on Shipboard, in the presence of Mr. Stevenson, ridiculed and blamed with the greatest freedom the conduct of the Mr. Lees' on many occasions. These are things so well known to a number of Gentlemen, both in France and America, that I am of opinion few will believe that you approved of y^e^ conduct of these Gentlemen at the time mentioned in y^e^ extracts, which I now return you.

I am happy to have an opportunity of giving you the opinion you requested of me, and shall be at all times ready to show that I am, with the greatest esteem,

Your friend and Humble Serv^t^,

HENRY NEWMAN.

To William Carmichael.

Philadelphia, May 2, 1779.

SIR,—In answer to yours received some days ago, I must own my surprise at what is contained in the extracts communicated by you to me. In the first place, I declare I never told Stephenson I wished to have the Ship's name changed from that of the Deane, nor did I wish it; for I entertained an opinion of Mr. Deane different from what I entertained of Mr. A. Lee, for I know he had done all in his power to injure me with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, and as to the order about the dispatches, I have it now, and it is not signed by him. I know that Mr. Stephenson was very angry with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane because they would not give him the dispatches which they sent express by Capt. Hill for you. I have often heard you speak of the Commissioners' conduct at Nantes and on Shipboard in presence of Mr. Stephenson and others, and I always heard you declare that Mr. Deane had used you extremely ill and very ungratefully in sending out his brother Simeon Deane with the dispatches, after they had been promised to you, and after you had been mentioned by the French Minister for

that purpose. I always heard you speak respectfully of Dr. Franklin, and I was present when you had warm words with Mr. Stephenson on that account; and you may remember I asked him what he knew of these matters, who had been at Paris but a few days. As to your speaking respectfully of Mr. A. Lee, I never heard you; but on the contrary you often condemned him for his pride and obstinacy in contradicting and opposing every plan proposed by any body but himself; in consequence of which, I believe Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane thought him out of his head—and I have heard Dr. Franklin say he thought Mr. A. Lee was crazy, and I am sure it was current enough at Nantes. I have heard you tell Stephenson that if, in consequence of Mr. Deane's trick with regard to his brother, you should appear on your arrival in America not to have the confidence you thought you ought to have, that you would lay the whole transaction before the public, but that otherwise you should not make private quarrels public ones. As to Thornton, he was too despicable a creature for you to take notice of, and I remember you made Ross invite him to dinner on purpose to make him drunk, to show what sort of a Secretary Mr. Lee trusted. As to Lloyd I never visited him and this is all I know of the matter; and if this can be of any use in contradicting what I am sure are lies, I shall be always ready to do it on all occasions.

I am, Dr Sir, &c.,

S. Nicholson.

To William Carmichael.

Lee Papers, Harvard University.

To the President of Congress.

Philadelphia, 12th May, 1779.

Sir,—I returned last evening, and now send you the New York papers of the 3d and 5th inst. You will much oblige me by informing me what resolution

Congress have come to on my letters of the 26th, 27th, and 30th ultimo, as well as on the petitions I have repeatedly made to them for the settlement of the business on which I was ordered to return to America upon. If nothing has been done, I pray to be informed when I may depend on a decisive answer from Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect, Sir, your most obedient and very humble Servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

P.S. Mr. Duane has the paper of the 5th, and will hand it to you.

His Excellency, John Jay, Esq.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 135.

HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN HOUSTON.

Philadelphia, 27th August, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I should not have remained so long in arrear for your Excellency's obliging letter of the 9th June, had I not flattered myself with hopes that long before this day the circumstances of Georgia would have been introduced as a subject demanding the consideration of Congress—but it has happened otherwise; to account for the probable reasons would be extremely unpleasant, and perhaps at this time equally improper; nevertheless it is my duty, Sir, as a fellow citizen, to suggest to you in that, as well as in the character of supreme magistrate of a State, that in my humble opinion we cannot fairly ascribe the dormancy of this and of many other momentous concerns to want of leisure.

I see with grief the return of our troops from East Florida without that success which your Excellency had hoped for; this unhappy circumstance will add to the distresses of Georgia, and increase her cries for relief.

While St. Augustine remains in possession of the enemy, Georgia will be unhappy, and her existence

as a free and independent State rendered very doubtful; South Carolina, too, will be continually galled by rovers and cruizers from that pestiferous nest. Another expedition must, therefore, be undertaken at a season of the year which will not outvie the bullets and bayonets of the enemy in the destruction of our men.

I have before me a plan for reducing East Florida, which I will have the honour of communicating to your Excellency very soon. In the meantime I am constrained to say, that unless the several states will keep their representation in Congress filled by men of competent abilities, unshaken integrity, and unremitting diligence, a plan, which I very much fear is laid for the subduction of our confederal independence, will, by the operations of mask'd enemies, be completely executed; so far, I mean, as relates to all the sea coast, and possibly to the present generation. Were I to unfold to you, Sir, scenes of venality, peculation and fraud, which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you; nor would you, Sir, be less astonished were I, by a detail which the occasion would require, prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue, who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who in the present corrupt time ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend plundered, much injured, and I was almost going to say sinking states. Don't apprehend, Sir, that I color too high, or that any part of these intimations are the effect of rash judgment or despondency; I am warranted to say they are not; my opinion, my sentiments, are supported every day by the declaration of individuals; the difficulty lies in bringing men collectively to attack with vigour a proper object. I have said so much to you, Sir, as Governour of a state, not intended for public conversation, which sound policy forbids, and at the same time commands deep thinking from every man appointed a guardian of the fortunes and honour of these orphan states.

Colonel McLean who will do me the honour to bear this address to your Excellency, is well acquainted with the present state of our arms. Copies of two letters from General Sullivan, which will accompany this, will show that of his particular and important department as it stood eight days ago—every hour I expect further intelligence; had he been successful and as expeditiously so as his sanguine hopes had marked out, I should have received the important tidings the day before yesterday.

Not a word that has been said or printed respecting Count d'Estaing's and Lord Howe's fleets merits confidence; an engagement, and a smart one, too, there has undoubtedly been, but who was victorious, and what losses each party sustained, are unknown in this city—this fact only, that the British fleet have greatly suffered, and had carried in no prizes four days ago is ascertained, and from the following paragraph in General Washington's letter of the 21st there is ground to hope that many of Lord Howe's original shew of ships at Rhode Island have been detained by his rival or lost in the late storm.

"By advices from an officer of rank and intelligence who is stationed in view of the sea, I am informed that sixteen ships entered the Hook on the 17th, one having a flag, and that on that and the preceeding day a heavy cannonade was heard at sea."

This day's packet may afford your Excellency more intelligence. I will trouble you Sir, no farther at present but to repeat that I am, with very great regard and esteem, Sir, Your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.
(Private.)

His Excellency
Governor Houston,
Georgia.

The Royal Gazette, May 5, 1779.

Candour on the Letter of Henry Laurens.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

Mr. Dunlap,—Having heard much conversation on a letter printed at New York the 5th inst., in Rivington's Royal Gazette, directed to Governor Houston of Georgia, and signed Henry Laurens (private); and having been informed that a Member of Congress had moved the House to have the letter read from the newspaper evidence, and to call on Mr. Laurens to answer whether he had written such a letter, my curiosity led me to obtain a copy of it, which I now send you for publication. Whether it is a true copy of Mr. Laurens's original to Governor Houston I know not, but I am inclined to believe it does not differ much, because I am told Mr. Laurens has said so, more than once. It has also been intimated to me, that he has shown the original to several gentlemen, and that he offered in Congress to shew it to every Member who should decently express a desire of seeing it. Congress, it seems, very prudently negatived the motion above mentioned, and I trust they will at all times have wisdom enough to discountenance measures, which, if carried into effect, would encourage Rivington to furnish them with employment differing widely from that to which their duty points, and which would also be exceedingly alarming to every free citizen of these States.

I have had an opportunity of conversing with several valuable gentlemen, who are Members of Congress, on the subject of this letter, and find they entertain the highest sentiments of respect and veneration for the patriotic citizen whose name is subscribed to it, and whose noble and disinterested exertions in his country's cause have raised the envy of some little minds, who dare not imitate his virtues. As to the suggestions in the letter, they think with me, that they are vastly short of what might in truth have been said of some Members who were then in Congress.

I find from very good authority, that the newspaper referred to was brought to Philadelphia by Mr. Silas Deane, and by him put into the hands of Mr. Duane.

Who or what stimulated the gentleman to the unsuccessful motion for calling on Mr. Laurens, is not quite so well authenticated; but I am warranted in saying, that had either Mr. Deane, Mr. Duane, or Mr. Smith asked Mr. Laurens if he was the author of the letter, he would have shewn them his copy book without hesitation. If you ask how I come to know so much of what passed in Congress concerning the letter, I answer, a Member of that Body related the whole in more than one company last Sunday. I have also learned, that this trifling affair, to give it no harsher epithet, employed the whole sessions of Congress on Friday and Saturday last, from whence, however, I draw this consolation, that all the business of the Army, the Navy, the Treasury, the Foreign Department, &c., &c., &c., are in a happy train. If this be granted, there can be no reasonable objection on the part of Congress to opening the doors. But if, on the contrary, those important concerns, on which our very existence depends, remain neglected—I say remain—the people ought——

I am, sir, Your most humble servant,

CANDOUR.

Philadelphia, 19th May, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, May 20, 1779.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 22d May, 1779.

SIR,—As this will probably be the last time I shall trouble Congress with my addresses to them, I hope to be indulged in briefly laying before them the following observations on my case and situation.

From the moment that the contest between these States and Great Britain became serious, I have taken

and pursued a decided and active part in favor of the liberties of my country, have cheerfully sacrificed my fortune, and exposed my life, for an object much dearer to me than either—the peace, liberty, and safety of these States. The part I took in the first and succeeding Congress is well known to many of the honorable members now present, as well as to my countrymen and fellow citizens in general, who must do me the justice to say, that I let slip no opportunity, either in Congress or out, which offered, for serving America, and distressing its enemies.

In January, 1776, when I was about returning to my family and private concerns, which had suffered much by my absence, I was applied to, by the Committee of Congress, to go to France, to negotiate the political as well as commercial affairs of America in that kingdom. The advantages proposed to me in the latter were considerable, and without any probability of difficulty, embarrassment, or risk, further than the dangers of the voyage, which were indeed great at that time. In the former it was very different, but the difficulties which presented, great as they were, had no consideration with me, in the situation in which our affairs then were. My subsequent conduct, from my arrival in France, until I left that kingdom, fully demonstrates that private interest and personal safety never had any weight with me when the service of my country called upon me. In my narrative I have been so particular on the situation I found myself in, on my arrival in Europe, the embarrassments and difficulties I constantly labored under, and had to encounter, and in many letters I have written to Congress since my return, requesting my conduct might be examined, in the strictest and most public manner, I have so often represented to them what my situation and line of conduct had ever been, that I am under no necessity of saying anything on the subject at present.

On the fourth of March, 1778, after having suc-

ceeded in procuring supplies for these States, which fell almost solely on me, and having, jointly with my colleagues, concluded the treaty of the sixth of February, which secured and guarantied the independence of these States, when I found myself, for the first time after my leaving America, free from those distressing embarrassments and difficulties I had been constantly under, and at liberty to pursue openly the great objects in view, and which I had for some time contemplated for the service of these States, I received the resolution of Congress of the 8th of December, ordering me to return immediately to America, to inform Congress of the *state of foreign affairs in Europe.* I did not hesitate a moment as to the part I should take, but immediately set myself on improving this circumstance and others, which then fortunately coincided, to the greatest possible advantage of these States,—the publication of the treaty, until that time ordered to be kept a profound secret, and the sending out the Toulon fleet, in which I embarked early in April.

I submit to the consideration of Congress, whether from the 4th of March to the 30th, the day I left Paris, I could possibly have been better employed, and whether I could have justified myself, or been even excused by others, had I neglected these objects, and delayed to pay the most immediate attention to the order of Congress, for the mere purpose of collecting in and adjusting accounts from the different parts of France; accounts which could not be collected and closed under several months, and in the settlement of which my colleagues were equally interested with myself.

I say I submit this to the consideration of Congress, nor do I fear publicly to submit it to the world, or even to those enemies whom I am so unfortunate as to have in it. The voice of my friend and colleague, Doctor Franklin, with that of my other noble friends and patrons in France to me was,—"Lose not a moment on any object either public or private; the

fleet at Toulon will be ready by the time you arrive there; by no means let it wait a moment for you; you may sail early in April, and be in America in the course of the month of May; you may finish the information you have to give Congress immediately, and return to France by the time the accounts you have been concerned in can be got ready for settlement." It cannot be supposed that I wanted to be urged to take the part I did; on the contrary, I exerted myself to the utmost in my power to get away as early and as secretly as possible, being convinced that the plan was well laid, happy to find the ministry had come so readily into it, and sensible how much depended on dispatch. Never was there a more glorious prospect before us than at that time, nor ever were my hopes and expectations raised higher on any occasion.

Having been honored with the particular confidence, and I may say friendship, of the minister, and knowing that the relief of my country and the defeat of its enemies depended solely on our seasonable arrival, I suffered no private considerations to detain me for a single moment. I was not insensible that I had enemies in America; I knew well that I had them in France, in Mr. William and Mr. Arthur Lee, and I was well acquainted with their connexions in America; but conscious of the part I had acted, and of the services I had rendered, and was then doing for my country, which services were not in words, but in acts, the most honorable testimonials of which, given by the highest and first characters in Europe or America, I had in my hands, I had nothing to apprehend. Though permit me to assure you that had I at the time foreseen all that has happened, and that even my life, as well as reputation, were to be sacrificed on my return, to the interested views of my enemies, I should not have hesitated a moment on taking the part I actually did take at the time. On my arrival early in July, I repaired immediately to Congress, and informed them I waited their orders.

It was late in August before I had the honor of an audience. Many circumstances, as well as direct information, convinced me, of what I had before suspected, that ill offices had been done me, and my conduct misrepresented. When I was first heard before Congress, I therefore requested that if anything had been alleged against any part of my conduct or character, as the public agent and commissioner of Congress, I might be made acquainted therewith, and have an opportunity for an explanation. I received no answer, and consequently had a right to conclude no charge had been made against me. I was told by many of the honorable members that they knew of none, nor had they heard of any. Conversing at that time with an honorable friend of mine, I mentioned to him my expectation of returning to France early in the fall, on which he told me I must not expect it, for that my enemies had determined to throw such obstacles and difficulties in my way as most probably would detain me here much longer than I thought for. I asked him how it was possible, when the business I was ordered home upon was so very simple and so easily finished, and when the unclosed state in which I had been obliged to leave many public transactions in Europe, made my returning as early as possible of consequence to the public, as well as to myself, and especially when nothing had, nor, I presumed, could be alleged against me. He answered that it was the design of those who wished to sacrifice me to the family interests and emoluments of my enemies to wear me out by delays, and, without any direct charges, to ruin me in the opinion of my countrymen by insinuations, hints, and inuendos, that though I might with confidence rely on the justice of Congress, yet measures would be taken to delay it on one pretence or other, in a way that would prove prejudicial if not ruinous to me. Though I could by no means bring myself to think my friend's suspicions well founded at the time, yet they made me more attentive to what was passing, and my observations served to confirm them.

The many fruitless applications I made for near five months to obtain an audience of Congress, and to have the business I came out upon closed, are well known to Congress; and the inferences I drew from the silent neglects which my requests met with may be easily conceived. In this situation I determined to lay my case before my countrymen and fellow citizens, to whom I considered myself ultimately accountable, though immediately so to their representatives in Congress. In consequence of this determination, I published my address in the beginning of December. On the 5th, Congress resolved to hear me; on the 7th I attended, and was ordered to *report in writing my agency of their affairs in Europe, as soon as may be, &c.* In obedience to their commands, I delivered them a brief and faithful narrative of my transactions, from the time of my leaving America, and flattered myself that, from the time which had elapsed from my recall, which was more than twelve months, and more than five from the time of my return and attendance, the fullest examination must have been made into every part of my conduct, and that I could not fail of obtaining an early decision. Confident in the justice of Congress, I forbore to address the public further, whilst my cause was before Congress, and whilst I daily expected their determination. From these considerations I silently submitted to the torrent of abuse, misrepresentation, and calumny, which almost daily poured forth against me in the public papers.

I considered myself as the servant of Congress, and entitled to their protection; to them I constantly appealed, not for favors, I asked none, but for justice. It is now five months since I laid my narrative before Congress, and on my being informed that a committee was appointed to examine and report on Foreign Affairs, and that my narrative was referred to them, I applied repeatedly to several of the honorable members, and requested that, if in the course

of their examination they met with anything, in the letters and documents before them, respecting my conduct, which required explanation, they would call upon me and acquaint me therewith. I was not noticed to attend them on the subject, and though I am informed their report has been for several weeks before Congress, I am unacquainted with its contents, as well as with the letters and documents on which it has been made.

Since I had the honor of laying my narrative before Congress, I have repeatedly solicited for the decision of Congress, but am to this hour without the honor of any reply to the many letters I have written; it would be tedious and perhaps unnecessary to repeat the substance of them; it would take some time to refer to the dates only; they are before Congress, and to them I appeal whether they speak the language of a man conscious of having defrauded and injured the public, or that of an innocent but greatly injured free citizen. I have had the honor of acting in the character of political as well as commercial agent for these States; I have repeatedly observed that everything relating to the former is already ascertained or ascertainable at this time, and I freely rest my merits in that department on facts, and on the testimony of those great personages, who best know what my conduct was, and who have generously, and without solicitation from me, publicly declared their approbation of it. With respect to my commercial, I have appealed, and again appeal, to that mode of trial which will prove to a mathematical certainty whether I have embezzled or misapplied the public monies, or whether, for more than three years' faithful services, I have received anything more than my private expenses. I have for more than ten months past been constantly soliciting to have the accounts of the Commissioners settled, on the issue of which I freely put my reputation, and every thing dear in life. My solicitations have been unsuccessful, whilst my enemies, taking the base and

disingenuous advantage of the circumstances before mentioned of my leaving France, raised a cry against me and say—where are his accounts? why did he not bring them out? if they were not settled, why did he not tarry and settle them? I must confess, that when I reflect that these very men owe their present political, as well as personal, safety, to the measure I then took, I am at a loss which prevails most in my mind—indignation or contempt.

I trust Congress will indulge me, and the rather as I hope not to be obliged to trouble them again soon, whilst I ask every unprejudiced and disinterested member of that honorable body, coolly to review the scenes I have passed through, and to place himself in the different situations I have been in at different periods, since my engaging in this great and important contest, and consider me, after having at the earliest period adopted and invariably pursued the most decisive and determined part, after having for more than four years devoted my whole time and abilities to the service of my country, more than three of which have been in the immediate service of Congress; after having, under every disadvantage and embarrassment, successfully solicited and procured most essential aid and supplies for these States; after having been the principal actor in concluding an alliance every way honorable and advantageous to these States, and then returning to my native country with honorable testimonials of my character and conduct from His Most Christian Majesty and his ministers, as well as from my friend and colleague, and the French nation in general; and with an armament, which promised, on its sailing, complete and decisive victory over the enemies of these States, and which, notwithstanding its misfortunes, relieved them (this capital in particular) from the deepest distress and the most imminent danger; after this, to be obliged to waste ten months in fruitless attendance and solicitation for justice to my fortune and character, and at last worn out with

the most mortifying delays and contemptuous neglect, driven unrewarded and unthanked to collect the little which remains of the scattered wrecks of my fortune, and to retire loaded with the most outrageous and unmerited reproaches into obscurity, poverty, and exile—I ask every member of that honorable body, even those the most unfavorably disposed towards me, to put themselves for a few moments in my case, which I have by no means colored beyond the real life, and then pass sentence.

The loss of interest has little weight with me, nor loss of time; infinitely more precious if, by either, the honor, safety, and prosperity of these States is promoted. In the present case I am deprived even of this consolation, having seen, to my inexpressible grief, the essential interests of these States sacrificed by the very measures which have occasioned the delay of justice to me. I still glory in the character of a free American citizen, and when I fear to speak in the style of one, I shall deservedly forfeit the most honorable of all titles. It was just and proper that my first applications should be made to the representatives of my fellow citizens; I have made them in the most decent and urgent manner, and repeatedly. They have been treated with the most mortifying silent neglect, even whilst every thing dear in life to me, and more so than life itself, my reputation, was suffering. I thank God I have sufficient fortitude to part with every thing in life, and life itself, in the service of my country, without repining; but no consideration whatever shall induce me silently to suffer my reputation and character to be abused and vilified, whilst I have the power either to act or speak. For ten months past I have presented myself and my case before Congress, such as could by no means be considered in a neutral point of light, but decidedly meriting their approbation or censure. I have not been able to obtain either. Justice, therefore, to my countrymen and fellow citizens, to myself, and those

great and generous personages who protected and patronized me, and the cause I was charged with abroad, requires of me that I justify myself before the world, by laying before them a faithful and exact account of all my public transactions from the first, and of the treatment I have met with.

In doing this (if laid under the necessity), I shall on no occasion transgress against the strictest rules of truth and decency, nor be wanting in that respect, which I have ever paid, and shall ever pay, to Congress, as the representative body of my fellow citizens. At the same time, I shall with proper firmness, and the dignity becoming a free but injured citizen, expose to public view those, whether in Congress or out, who, to promote partial, interested, and family views, have from the first systematically labored to prevent Congress from deciding on my conduct as the servant of the public, though the interest of these States called for their decision. I flatter myself I shall not be laid under the necessity of further application, but that Congress will relieve me from the unmerited distress I labor under by closing this long protracted affair, or at least by immediately taking such measures as will, without delay, do justice to my services.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful esteem, and attachment, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., I. 204.

ARTHUR LEE TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Paris, May 22d, 1779.

DEAR FRIEND,—As the public is likely to have much to settle with the person whose character is given in the enclosed extract, I think it may be of use for you to have it. From what motive Mr. M. spoke, I do not know, but the universal opinion here corresponds

with what he says. Most unhappily our affairs are entirely, and have been from the beginning, in such hands. There is not the least sign of amendment. I have look'd near, long, and narrowly at a person who has been, and is, the Father of all this shameful business. Neither my reading, experience, nor imagination can furnish me with the Idea of a mind more corrupt, nor that labors with more cunning and systematic constancy to carry that depravity into execution. The Ministers have wisely withdrawn one instrument of this corruption, before he has made a fatal stroke. I will not answer for the consequences if you do not follow their example.

Surely a man of sense, of honor, integrity, and Education may be found to represent you with dignity, and put an end to all this baseness and pilfering. I am sick and ashamed of it. We shall fall into such vileness soon, that nothing will retrieve our character. The meanest of all mean men, the most corrupt of all corrupt men is assimilating every thing to his own nature.

In many respects, I should think Mr. Carrol, the Catholic, a fit man to send in his place. What objections there may be to him I do not know. If the honor, the principles, the salvation of America be dear to you, take away the man that is endangering, and, if permitted, will ruin them all.

The Letter from which the extract is taken, was among those papers which Mr. Deane left with Dr. Franklin, and which the latter put into my hands, not knowing, I presume, what evidence they containd against him and his associates. The great sollicitude which Dr. Franklin shews to retrieve them, is a proof of his sorely repenting what he did. The fact is, that these men were put off their usual guard, which is cunning and concealment, by the vain persuasion they had, that the eclat of a French fleet and recommendatory Letters obtaind by intrigue, in which M. G[erard] had no small hand, woud stifle all enquiry, and send

Mr. Deane back honor'd and trusted as before. The vanity of their Under Agents prompted them to boast of this, and Dr. Franklin himself insinuated it in his way. But when the enquiry was likely to come forward, Mr. Deane, I suppose, wrote to him to secure those papers, upon which, tho' he had never given himself the smallest trouble about them before, he apply'd to Mr. J. Adams, unknown to me, to deliver them into his hands. Having got them, and finding from the list I had made, that the very papers he wished to suppress were not there, he suspected I had them, and apply'd for them with a sollicitude which he never shews but when there is some selfish object in view.

I can with great confidence assure you, that the conduct of M. G[erard] is very much disapproved of by the Minister, and that any compliments to him upon his taking leave will be unpleasing here. As far as I can judge, his successor is of a very opposite character, and will pursue a very different line. You know how much benefit the common cause will receive from such a change.

As to Politics, I must recur to my former position, that you must depend upon yourselves and not remit any efforts from a confidence in the weakness of the Enemy or the assistance of our Ally. To depend upon ourselves is more safe and honorable, and it is absolutely necessary. But unless this universal complaint of public depredation be stopt, unless the expenditure of the public money by the various Agents be fairly and fully accounted for, the temptation of plunder will be so increased by the prosperity and impunity of the plunderers, that they will soon become numerous and powerful enough, not only to protect themselves and continue their corrupt practises, but to destroy by intrigue, subornation and influence every person that opposes their measures. Of one thing you may be most assur'd, or I am more deceived in my judgement than ever I was in my life, that he who is the father and prompter of all this business will not hesitate at

the utmost extremity of wickedness, to spread and maintain that corruption by which alone his influence and objects can be long supported.

I subjoin two propositions which I wished to have made at a secret interview with the Bourgomaitre of Amsterdam; and which from the then disposition of that City, I think were likely to succeed. But the jealousy of Dr. Franklin prevented the interview. This he will justify by the opinion of Dumas, who is entirely his creature and an old woman.

Adieu.

[Arthur Lee.]

Please to enclose your Letters a Monsieur le Marquis de Malsherbe Ministre d'Etat, a Paris. If Congress mean that their Commissioners shou'd remain in Europe, they must provide some other fund for their support than that in the hands of Dr. Franklin, who from envy, hatred, or malice will always find excuses for evading payment. Besides he is not a little given to saying the thing that is not, and before that can be detected the Commissioner may suffer great inconvenience.

Bancroft Mss., Lenox Library.

Arthur Lee to Carter Braxton.

To Carter Braxton, Esq., of Virginia.

Paris, May 22, 1779.

Sir,—A letter under your signature, dated December 26, 1778, and addressed to Mr. John Ross in France, has appeared in the public papers of New-York, London, and Virginia.

Your not having intended that it should appear in print, will hardly atone for the indiscretion of committing to paper, sentiments so pernicious to the public. Did you mean to put it in the power of Mr. John Ross to communicate this injurious picture of your country

to his countrymen in Great Britain, that faction who are the authors of all the calamities resulting from a war founded in tyranny, and conducted with every possible cruelty? Was it a man of that nation which had avowed the bitterest enmity and rancour against the United States to whom you chose to trust such dangerous information of the distresses and weakness of your country? If these things were true, a wise man would have concealed them; if untrue, an honest man would not have mentioned them. Is it possible you could have expected that this mischievous communication would sleep where it was sent; and not somehow or other find its way to England, and invite the enemy to persevere in a war, the calamities of which you pretend to lament? To suppose this, would be to justify your intention, very much at the expence of your understanding. It is thus that while brave and able men are exerting themselves in the field and in the cabinet, to secure the sovereignty and independency of their country, the poison of secret information, communicated through circuitous channels, threatens the destruction of the State. It is this, Sir, and not French alliances or French Ministers, that, if possible, would lay us prostrate at the feet of our enemies. If your despair of our success were real, I should pity you. Such pusillanimity is contemptible, and will never reach a people who have distinguished themselves by a firmness and valour which have rendered them the admiration of all Europe.

Give me leave now to say one word on what you have been pleased to add concerning my brothers and me. You did not want, you say, the proof of Mr. Deane's letter to satisfy you about us. Where was it you learnt that accusations and proof were the same? It is, I presume, the same accuracy of judgement to which we owe the opinion you entertain of our principles, which you say you know to be *base*. Will you be so obliging as to state what those principles are, that the public may judge for themselves? Describe the

artifices and intrigue we have used for our own *private emolument.* Let the world know what *place of profit* we ever possessed, or what fortunes we have made in the service of our country or by its calamities. Do you think that those who devote their time and talents to the public service, in employments, honorable in deed, but the reverse of profitable, deserve the return of calumny and ingratitude? What are your principles, that make them this return?

Had my brothers given their votes in the Assembly of Virginia, to share in money unduely kept in circulation; had they exerted themselves to prevent an enquiry into that corrupt and ruinous proceeding, you would have a right to call their principles *base.* If you know such a man, be so good as to tell him, that when next he feels himself inclined to impeach principles directly opposite to his own, he should look within, repent, and be silent. Had my brothers employed their time at Congress, in forming connections in commerce with *a man* who had then much of the public money to play with, I should have *suspected* their principles. Had they been occupied ever since in making fortunes by this partnership, and then calumniated others who had devoted all their time to the public service, I should have thought them actuated by *base principles.* Had they added to this a correspondence with such men as John Ross in Europe, and exposed to them the vulnerable parts of their country, I should have deemed their *principles base*, and their *conduct criminal.*

You are pleased to charge me particularly with having communicated "*inflammatory intelligence from Europe with many falsities.*" I beg you will do yourself the justice to name one of those many falsities. If you do not, and you certainly cannot, the world will judge that you deserve a harsher name than I shall mention. Your sagacity, it seems, discovered very soon that it was unsafe to trust the secrets of the state with men of our characters. The same sagacity directed you to confide them to Mr. John Ross. Probably some

of the same clan in Glascow have been deemed worthy of similar confidence. Some of those worthy Gentlemen, who were driven back to Scotland as a punishment for holding principles so opposite to those you impute to us, and so congenial with your own.

It is pleasant enough to see how you and Mr. Deane, though pursuing the same object, that of deceiving the people into a distrust of those men who prevent you from making your country the instrument of your vanity and avarice, contradict each other in your accusations. According to Mr. Deane, I was so much attached to England, that they were obliged to *drag* me into the French treaty; and my brother Richard Henry Lee persists in affirming that we may make peace with England, notwithstanding the treaty with France, and has ever long entertained the design of withdrawing the people from their connections with His Most Christian Majesty. According to you, the inflammatory intelligence of the Lees in Europe, and the intrigues of those in Congress, have produced this alliance which is to ruin us. With him the alliance is our palladium, and therefore the Lees are enemies to it; with you it is our ruin and reproach, and therefore the Lees were the authors of it.

It is happy for the public when accident discovers men's real principles. Your invectives against men who have exerted their utmost to avert from their country the worst of all public calamities, British tyranny, may be very grateful to your friend, Mr. John Ross; but I trust our countrymen will regard them and their author with the contempt they merit.

A. Lee.

Virginia Gazette, reprinted in The Pennsylvania Packet, Oct. 28, 1779.

Deane's Reply to Candour.

Mr. Dunlap,

Sir,—I desire a place for the following in your next paper.

S. D.

A Writer in your last Thursday's Advertiser, who subscribes himself Candour, in his preface to the publication of a letter signed Henry Laurens, has in the most uncandid manner insinuated that I had been officiously busy in procuring Rivington's Gazette of the 5th instant, in which that letter was first published; that I brought it to Philadelphia and gave it to Mr. Duane for the purpose of bringing forward the enquiry in Congress respecting it. As nothing can be further from the truth than the insinuation, I think it proper to inform the public in a few words how that Gazette came into Mr. Duane's hands, and into Congress, and to offer one or two observations on the subject. On my taking leave of his Excellency General Washington, at Head-Quarters, he gave me two New York Gazettes, of the 3d and 5th instant, requesting me, after I had read them, to give them to the President of Congress. The morning after I returned to Philadelphia, I breakfasted in company with Mr. Duane and several other gentlemen, and being asked if I had any late intelligence from New-York, I gave them those papers. Mr. Duane, who had taken up the paper of the 3d first, had not finished reading that of the 5th when I was leaving the company; but as he was going to Congress, I told him the condition on which I had received the papers, and desired him to give that in his hand to the President; the other I sent myself, with a note, acquainting him with my return to Philadelphia, and that I had sent him the New-York Papers of the 3d and 5th. I had then no expectation of ever hearing more about them, much less that my having brought a newspaper to Philadelphia and given it to Mr. Duane, or to any other person, would be represented as a transaction of importance, in which the public were interested. The views of this writer are evidently calculated to draw the attention of the public from a serious and important inquiry, which this letter, if genuine, must give rise to, and fix it on trifles. He

says, "*had Mr. Deane, Mr. Duane, or Mr. Smith asked Mr. Laurens if he was the author of the letter, he would have shown them his copy without hesitation.*" Mr. Laurens might have done so. His politeness and condescension might have induced him to oblige any one in such a case. But it must be granted, that it would have been to the last degree impertinent and officious in me, an individual, no further interested in the authenticity of that letter, or its contents, than the citizens of America at large are, to have made application; and I confess I am yet to learn, with what face I could have put such a question to Mr. Laurens, or even to any private gentleman in America. Indeed the letter carried with it such marks of improbability, that I could not, without a violation of all candor and common sense, suppose it genuine; for is it to be imagined that Mr. Laurens, then President of Congress, should have detected scenes of the most astonishing venality, peculation, and fraud, and instead of communicating or disclosing them to Congress, convey them in a private letter to a Governor of one of the remotest States, which could only serve to awaken jealousy, create suspicion, and give an alarm? Or that a gentleman of Mr. Laurens's integrity and honor would continue a member, and even the President of a Body which furnished Advocates and Patrons of such crimes and villainies? For those reasons I was rather led to consider the letter as another of Rivington's forgeries; nor are my doubts removed by the hearsay evidence of this anonymous writer. I therefore must suspend my judgment, until I am fully convinced that the letter published by Rivington is a true copy of one wrote by Mr. Laurens. I am not indeed vain enough to suppose my judgment or opinion on the subject is of so much importance as to merit the attention of the public, and therefore shall leave the good people of these States to determine for themselves on the merits of the affair at large, and whether it is not

a subject as important as some others, which, within a few months past, have taken up the time and attention of Congress more weeks than it is pretended this has days!

S. DEANE.

Philadelphia, May 22d, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, May 25, 1779.

PHOCION TO CANDOUR.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

To the Gentleman under the signature of Candour in last Thursday's paper.

SIR,—The Public are much obliged to you for the communication of Mr. Laurens's letter, which has been the subject of so much debate and conversation. And as some Gentlemen seem to be much alarmed on the occasion, be it known to them that the sentiments it contains are not singular; and though it is firmly believed that a great majority of that Honorable Body, the Congress, act upon the most upright and patriotic principles, yet it is too well known and felt what a few individuals may do in obstructing public business, entangling honest, well-meaning Members to ridiculous disputes about order, destroying a question under the pretence of amending it, and adding substitute after substitute, till all idea of the original question is lost. Let the journals of the first and second Congress be inspected; we find no such crooked lines drawn there; the path of public business was made plain: Whereas the journals of Congress as now published are unintelligible to half the world, for whose information they were designed. These are the devices of some modern Machiavel, who not being able to rise to that simplicity and grandeur which ought to distinguish a Republican Government, seek to effect by artifice and strategem what cannot be accomplished by fair and open methods. It is hoped those who are distin-

guished in convivial hours as the honest part of Congress, will think it high time to exert themselves, and by seasonable, vigorous, and decisive measures recover the confidence of the people. They cannot doubt their firmest and most explicit support in every patriotic and disinterested measure. And most heartily is it to be wished that our brethren in other States, stimulated by the example of the brave and patriotic Virginians, would prosecute inquiries into the commercial schemes of these public characters, least under the false and fallacious ideas of trade we barter away our liberties and best interests to aggrandize and enrich a few individuals. And as you, Sir, have gratified the public curiosity with one letter, we hope you may do so with another of much importance to the people of this country. I mean a letter wrote by Mr. Simeon Deane, dated at Petersburg in Virginia, to his brother, Silas Deane, Esquire, then supposed to be in France, which was intercepted and published in England, and was transmitted to Congress about three months ago. If the letter is genuine it contains facts worthy our attention. As it is not so, justice to injured individuals requires that they should have an opportunity to vindicate themselves from malevolent aspersions. Be not discouraged from the prosecution of such inquiries by the threats of any set of men, however seemingly powerful. In the virtue and good sense of the Public you will find protection and safety from the greatest of them.

PHOCION.

The Pennsylvania Packet, May 27, 1779.

LUSITANIA TO DEANE.

To S. Deane, Esquire.

> Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind:
> The thief doth fear each bush an Officer.—*Shakespeare.*

SIR,—Reading your performance in Mr. Dunlap's paper of Tuesday last, it puts me in mind of a story

told of John Dennis the Poet. This John Dennis, Sir, had, as he called it, lampooned the French King, and, being at Southampton, or some of the places near the British Channel, on hearing that a French squadron had made its appearance in the Channel, the poor affrighted bard posted up to London as fast as possible, and told his friends and acquaintance that he was confident the Court of France had heard of his being at Southampton, and had dispatched that powerful fleet in hopes to surprize him at Portsmouth.

Pray, good Mr. Punster, by what sophism, or, if you please, logic, can you make it appear that Candour had it in idea *uncandidly* to insinuate "YOU had been officiously busy in procuring Rivington's Gazette, for the purpose of bringing forward the enquiry in Congress respecting it?"

I am well acquainted with the author of the piece signed Candour, and can venture to assure you, that he had you as little in his thoughts when he prefaced the letter referred to, as the Court of France had the poor, vain son of Apollo, when she sent the squadron to sea. Sir, he had higher game in view, and was influenced by a nobler object, the vindication of a great and venerable Senator of America from meditated persecution. It had been industriously said abroad, that the letter contained high reflections upon that Honorable Body, the Congress; and if I am rightly informed, some of its Members had determined to persecute, if possible, the supposed writer. I, myself, heard it said that the letter contained sentiments dishonorable to the writer, and I presume that *Candour*, who thought differently of the letter, chose to undeceive the public as to its contents. This, I really believe, Sir, was the sole end the publisher had in view, and that he had no intention of *insinuating* any thing to your Honor's disadvantage. He knows you not; and from anything he has heard of you, he wishes not to know you. You seem entirely to have misconceived *Candour* in supposing he meant to draw the public attention from a serious

and important inquiry, and to fix it on trifles. To convince you of your mistake (if you have really mistaken him) I must beg you once more to peruse the preface, particularly the last ten or twelve lines. The very reverse is the truth. Candour has laboured incessantly, for a long time past, to draw the attention of his countrymen to objects of the highest importance; and he too, Sir, like you, has done his country *substantial* services abroad, but he has never boasted of them, happy in having done his duty. He has looked down on the most flattering plans of wealth and consequence, and is actually at this very time devoting his days and nights to the good of America, although to the ruin of his private fortune. Permit me, Sir, before I leave you, to ask one question—How happened it that you did not comply with your promise in the first part of your address, by informing the public how the letter got into Congress? You have told us how it got into the hands of the President and Mr. Duane, but there you stop; I wish you had proceeded; it was proper, in my opinion, you should; for I believe thereby hangs a tale. One word more before we part, and then adieu forever, good Mr. Deane. Be assured that Candour (I have it from himself) wishes to have no dispute with you or with any man living, and means to deprive himself of the *honor* of any reply to what you may say of him hereafter. His first and only request to you is, that you will address yourself in future to your best friend and monitor common sense.

LUSITANIA.

May 26, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, June 1, 1779.

A CITIZEN ON DEANE'S ADDRESS.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

It is now about six months since Mr. Deane made his address to the Public, on sundry matters of great

importance to the United States. It was expected that those matters would be enquired into with the utmost expedition, and that immediately after such enquiry, proper measures would be pursued, to prevent the Empire from sustaining further injury from the contentions of jarring Commissioners; and to punish such of them, as should be found to have sacrificed the public good to their own interest or resentment. Why this, so important a business, has been so long protracted; why, at this day, not a single step has been taken to effect those great purposes, justly excites anxiety and surprize. With regard to Mr. Deane himself, it does not appear that Congress has yet come to any determination concerning him; that he has yet given any solid satisfaction respecting the differences between him and the other Commissioners, nor even in respect to the vast sums of public money which have passed through his hands. In this state of things, it seems necessary that the whole affair, and the proceedings thereon subsequent to Mr. Deane's address, should be critically examined. Such an enquiry would probably enable us to determine, with tolerable precision, whether the dilatoriness that has prevailed in regard to this business, was owing to real difficulties in the business itself, or was occasioned by obstacles artfully contrived for the purpose of delay, in order to serve sinister ends. To contribute in some measure to so useful a work, I shall examine Mr. Deane's address, which gave us the first information on the affair in question.

Mr. Deane is also the first person who has brought before the public, matters that were depending, and others that, in the first instance, were properly cognizable only in Congress. To account for so extraordinary a measure, we must suppose him to have been impelled to it by some very powerful motive. And as the knowledge of what that motive really was, may probably throw some light on the merits of the several matters which are the subjects of the address I shall

endeavour to investigate and ascertain it. Mr. Deane, indeed, has declared his motive; but as impartiality will not allow us to call it in question without examination, so neither will it permit us to acquiesce in it, until we shall find some other authority for it than his own assertion. Nor can this liberty of thinking for ourselves be justly censured. Mr. Deane cautions us against *artifice, to beware, and on our guard.* It is indeed of consequence in these times, that political characters should be freely canvassed, and that they should be thoroughly and generally known. I shall therefore premise a few observations, which may not only facilitate the present enquiry, but enable persons of a common capacity to make a pretty good judgment of men in public life.

Where there may be different motives to the same action, it must often be difficult to ascertain the real one. There is a political, as well as a religious hypocrisy. The affected sanctity of the one, and the pretended patriotism of the other, are assumed on the same principle—to deceive the world and benefit oneself by the deception. But notwithstanding the art and care with which political hypocrites conceal and disguise their views and conduct, and the pains they take to mislead, perplex, and throw other people off the real scent, there are a few leading principles by which, if we examine their proceedings, we may often discover that there is an indirect design at bottom, though we may not be immediately able to develope the particulars of it.

In a man who acts on virtuous principles, there is a conformity between his actions and declarations. His conduct will ever be candid, uniform, and consistent. He will not boast of his patriotism in public, and be guilty of indirect practices in private, to enrich himself at the expense of his country. Should he have been honored with a public trust, having entertained no sordid views, nor committed any unworthy act in the discharge of it, he has no need to disguise, mis-

represent, conceal, or suppress any part of his conduct, or to evade any enquiry. On the contrary, conscious integrity will prompt him, on every occasion, to state facts, not partially and fallaciously, but fully and fairly, to lay open the whole truth, and to give the fullest satisfaction. Should he have been concerned in money transactions, his accounts will be clear and explicit, the vouchers ready. He will not refuse, nor artfully decline, to deliver and settle them; but will studiously endeavour to give his employers a decided proof of his integrity and honor. These are self-evident truths, and though some men possess greater refinement of sentiment than others, there are, nevertheless, in every man's breast, sufficiently just notions of truth, justice, honor, and patriotism, that, where he is not personally interested, will enable him to judge rightly, how far plain facts and declarations are consistent or inconsistent with these sacred principles, and with each other. If, therefore, instead of troubling ourselves with insinuations, assertions, professions, and other disputable things, and bewildering ourselves in the mazes of sophistical reasoning, we were to collect uncontroverted facts, and the plain declarations of the person's motive and design, and try them by this unerring test, we should be able to form a tolerably just opinion of a man's principles and proceedings.

Let us now examine Mr. Deane's address by this plain criterion. In the very beginning of the performance, he says, "I do not address you on my own account, but on *yours*." "I do not wish to prejudice any man, but to *serve* my country."

"What I write to you, I would have said to your Representatives. Their ears have been shut against me."

"While it was safe to be silent, my lips were closed. Necessity has opened them, and necessity must excuse this effort to *serve*, by informing you."

These are his very words. Let us next see how his conduct agrees with these declarations.

The address contains a number of complaints and insinuations against Arthur and William Lee, Commissioners in Europe. Mr. Deane *positively* declares, "That the former gave great and just cause of offence to the Court of Madrid. That both of them gave universal disgust to the French nation. That Arthur Lee was suspected of disclosing the secrets of America. That he was of no small prejudice to our affairs, by his own undisguised hatred of, and expressions of contempt for, the French nation in general. That Mr. Lee's Secretary went to and from London, charged with affairs that were secret to the other Commissioners. That Mr. Lee was dragged into the treaty with France with the utmost reluctance. And he insinuates, that though it was agreed the treaty should be kept a profound secret, Mr. Lee gave intelligence of it to Lord Shelburne; and that he even wrote a letter to a person in England, the very day the treaty was signed, mentioning that such an event had taken place that day." Mr. Deane further *positively* declares: "That William Lee, the Commercial Agent, declined to act for some time, lest his property in England should be affected thereby, though he was loudly called upon to regulate certain affairs. And that the said William Lee had displaced a person who had faithfully done the business in one of the ports of France for two per cent. in favor of another who is to receive five per cent."

I shall not enquire whether these declarations and insinuations are true or false. The inferences I shall draw from them will be sufficiently conclusive without such a discussion. I beg leave just to remind the reader, that Mr. Deane had been five months in America when he brought these charges against the Lees. Now, if these charges are not true, every person of honor will think Mr. Deane highly culpable for publishing them, and have a right to impute his conduct to the basest principles. And pray, if Mr. Deane really believed them true, can we think otherwise of

him for concealing them for 5 months after his arrival in America? Several of these alledged facts appear, by Mr. Deane's address, to have happened long before Mr. D. left France. Ought he not, then, while he was in France, to have informed Congress of them immediately by letter, and have laid his proofs before them? But further: ought he not, within 24 hours after his arrival at Congress, to have acquainted that Body with so momentous an affair as the treachery, incapacity, and unfitness of two of its servants, who are entrusted with our most important concerns at 4 of the principal Courts in Europe, besides our commercial interests in France? To say that their ears were shut against him, and that he could not obtain an audience, is no excuse. Could he not have done it by letter? Could he not have acquainted the President with it, or the Secret Committee, whom he saw every day? Concealment of matters of such moment at the time they ought to be divulged, and to publish them long afterwards, has a strange appearance. What renders Mr. Deane's conduct in this respect still more criminal, is, that he pleads in excuse for not bringing the public papers with him, that he was recalled merely to give Congress an account of the state of affairs in Europe: yet notwithstanding that it was, according to his own confession, his immediate duty to give Congress this important information, he neither on his arrival, nor at his audiences of Congress, nor in his subsequent letters to that Body, ever mentioned it. Was it, then, purely to serve his country, that Mr. Deane deliberately concealed these dangerous abuses, till he had been 5 months in America? And was it safe to be silent all the while that his *lips were closed?* Was it also purely to serve his country, that he at length abruptly divulged the important intelligence? And did the necessity for *opening his lips* take place just at that moment, and not before? Was it also to *serve his country more effectually*, that he communicated his information, not to Congress, but *to the*

people at large; because *they, not Congress*, had the immediate superintendance of public affairs, and were to displace the public servants in case of misbehaviour?

Though Mr. Deane is so very particular in regard to the Lees, he is extremely concise in respect to his own transactions. Whether that is owing to his modesty or his prudence, will best appear from the sequel. It is certain, that where little is said, there is less chance of furnishing a clue which may lead to troublesome enquiries. What he says on that head is substantially this, that on the 4th of March, he received a resolution of Congress, in which are these very words, "*that Congress have resolved that the Hon. Silas Deane be recalled from the Court of France, and have appointed another Commissioner to supply his place there!*"—that having placed his *papers and yours* in a place of safety, he left Paris the 30th, to embark for his native country. That when he arrived at Philadelphia, he solicited an audience of Congress, which after many delays, *which some circumstances rendered unavoidable*, he obtained. He was twice heard before that Hon. Body, viz., on the 19th and on the 21st of August, when he gave them, he says, as good a *general* account of the matters entrusted to him as the time would permit: it being his intent to deliver *singly* and by itself, a *history* of those affairs. But that after these two audiences, he had been unable to obtain a third, tho' he had continually solicited it, and written several letters for that purpose.

Why should Mr. Deane give us this little narrative, which has no connection with what goes before or after; nor conveys any useful information? It certainly conveys an idea that Mr. D obeyed that order of Congress with alacrity; that, like a most careful Agent, he placed his and your papers in a place of safety, previous to his embarkation; and that on his arrival here, like a good and faithful Steward, he earnestly solicited to render an account of his trust.

It conveys all this; but whether it was introduced for that purpose, and whether it is most likely to serve Mr. D——'s country or himself, and how far it is consonant to truth, remain to be unravelled.

How plausible soever this little narrative may appear to unthinking people, there is a circumstance which invalidates the whole, and places Mr. D——'s conduct in a most suspicious light. He tells us with an air of confidence, as if he had done, and was to do some signal business, that at his audiences of Congress, he gave them a *general account* of matters, and that it was his *intent* to deliver singly a *history* of these affairs, &c. But there is nothing said in the whole address of his accounts and vouchers, relative to the public money; not a word that he was *ready*, *desirous*, that he had *solicited*, or that it even was his intent to lay them before Congress, to explain and settle them. Near *four millions* of livres have passed through Mr. D——'s hands; and surely no person of common understanding can think of accepting a *general* and *verbal* account of mixed matters, in lieu of regular accounts and vouchers of the expences here of the public treasure.

Mr. D. indeed tells us, that he has left his papers and yours in France. This act, circumstanced as he was, is utterly unjustifiable. Mr. D. has given us the resolve by which he was not only recalled, but informed that Congress *had appointed* another Commissioner in his place. He could not, therefore, have the least reason to suppose that he was to return to France in his former character; nor could he think otherwise than that a proper and regular settlement of accounts would be expected from him here; and he ought accordingly to have prepared, and brought with him every thing necessary to do it in the most satisfactory manner. I do not mean to insinuate that he could complete his accounts down to the day of his departure; but there is a material difference between doing that, and leaving all the accounts in France.

Mr. D. was sole Agent many months before the arrival of the other Commissioners; and it was not till many months after they joined him, that he embarked for America. The accounts, therefore, during his sole Agency, must have been long closed, and might surely have been brought with him. No good reason can be assigned why they, and even a great part of the subsequent ones, were left behind. The omission can only be accounted for on the most unfavorable suspicions. To urge the danger of the sea or of the enemy, is absurd. Paris is a place where a sufficient number of hands may easily be procured, to copy all his and your papers in a few days, were they much more voluminous than there is reason to suppose them to be. What view of public convenience, of public advantage, could Mr. D. have in leaving the public accounts in France? Who so proper to bring them, or copies of them, as he who contracted them, and could best, or perhaps solely, explain them?

After these general observations, let us recur again to the criterion we laid down, and ask ourselves how a person, who had faithfully discharged his trust, would act on such an occasion? Would he not, previous to his departure from France, collect every paper that tended to prove the ability and rectitude of his conduct? Would he not, in what relates to money matters, be careful to have his accounts and vouchers regularly drawn out and arranged? Would he not, on his arrival, be desirous and anxious to lay before Congress, not a general and verbal account of matters, but regular accounts and vouchers of the expenditure of public money; and declare his readiness to answer any question, and to give the utmost satisfaction on that or any other subject, on which he had been employed? Had many bickerings and disputes, as Mr. D. calls them, happened between him and a Fellow-Commissioner: had insinuations and misrepresentations been transmitted to his disadvantage; would not prudence, would not justice to himself, and a regard to his own reputa-

tion, render him still more solicitous, if possible, to bring with him, not merely the accounts and vouchers, but every other authentic document, in order the more effectually to vindicate and display his integrity and honor?

To examine the matter still more critically: Suppose, on the other hand, that a person had applied public money to his private uses; that he was a sharer in the profits of the contracts and purchases which he had made for the public; that he had gained in the enemy's funds; and that he had pursued other iniquitous methods to enrich himself at the public expence; how would he act? Would he wish to disclose all his transactions, or would he endeavour to keep them secret? Would he bring his accounts and papers with him to be examined, or would he leave them behind to prevent it?

I shall now leave the public to judge of the merit of Mr. Deane's address, and of his motive for publishing it.

I shall leave it also to the public to determine, whether that Gentleman ought to be permitted to leave America 'till his accounts are brought hither and adjusted. It is certain, that near four millions of livres have been expended by him, or under his direction; and that no satisfactory account hath yet been rendered by him. At any rate, Congress ought to do business, as becomes men of business. Where accounts and vouchers ought to be produced, they should be required and insisted upon. And when they are withheld, or unfairly stated, proper measures should be taken that the public be not injured.

A Citizen.

May 24, 1779.

The Pennsylvania Packet, June 1, 1779.

Proceedings of Congress.

Thursday, June 10, 1779. A motion was made by Mr. Thomas Burke, seconded by Mr. Henry Laurens.

That Silas Deane, Esquire, be ordered not to depart

the United States without the Special permission of Congress; and that Arthur Lee, Esquire, be directed to repair forthwith to America, in order the better to enable Congress to enquire into the truth of the several allegations and suggestions made by the said Arthur Lee, in his correspondence with Congress against the said Silas Deane.

The States were equally divided, and the question was lost.

Journals of Congress.

Note to the above by Henry Laurens.

Never was there a more droll scene exhibited in a public assembly than the foregoing.

Almost every man who voted for detaining Mr. Deane did so from a hope of securing a vote for recalling Mr. Lee. When this should have been effected, Mr. Deane was to have obtained "the special permission of Congress for departing from the United States," or it might be that he would depart without the "special permission," "for who could control him?" (said Mr. S. and J. P.). Such sentiments were expressed by both parties, which warrant this suggestion. To these and similar expressions I replied in Congress: "If Mr. Deane, in defiance of the order of Congress, shall depart the United States, it will be pleading guilty; and upon Mr. Lee's appearance before Congress, and giving evidence against Mr. Deane, judgment will go against him by his default; and I believe that neither this nor a future Congress will hazard the public resentment which would follow a permission to Mr. Deane to depart before the appearance of Mr. Lee, unless from captivity or other extraordinary accident he should be detained an unreasonable length of time." On the other hand, those who could not bear the idea of recalling a faithful servant, and subjecting him to the risk of being captured and carried into England, whose king and ministers of state are exceedingly exasperated against him, and who also sus-

pected the designs of the opposite party, therefore voted against their wishes to detain Mr. Deane, because the recall of Mr. Lee was tacked to that article as an express condition. Thus were votes given by all, three or four excepted, against the principles of the voters.

My sole motive in bringing forward the proposition for detaining Mr. Deane and ordering Mr. Lee to appear and support his charges was for obtaining justice (1) to my much injured country; (2) to individuals.

The proposition originally sprang from myself, although Mr. Burke reduced it to writing, in order, he said, to try if gentlemen were in earnest. He never found one otherwise.

Before I had voted against the recall of Mr. Lee (on the 8th of June, 1779; see the journal) I had repeatedly declared in Congress that I would vote for his recall, provided Congress would detain Mr. Deane, and that opinion I have invariably supported in private conversations with Mr. Lee's brother, and other particular friends, in opposition to their sentiments. "*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*" was my governing principle. Thank God, I have acted agreeably to the dictates of my conscience, without respect to persons, and I trust my country will not condemn my conduct.

Case of Silas Deane, Seventy-six Society, page 98.

Affairs in Congress.

From the Baltimore Advertiser.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated June 24, 1779.

"Our present situation is truly alarming, and is briefly as follows:—A Junto early formed in Congress, have, by some means or other, contrived to keep their principal leaders, either actually in the house, or in some of the most important departments; and by acting constantly in concert, have at last brought it about,

that a minority, and a small one too, can retard, delay, and even obstruct every proceeding. The foundation of this Junto was laid during the sitting of the first Congress. At that period there were many real grounds, as well as some pretended ones, for suspecting New York, and one or two others of the middle States. This naturally led the northern and southern ones to unite the more strictly in the measures then pursuing, to obtain the great objects in view. It is not my intention to give you the history of this Junto at present, but will only inform you, that for upwards of twelve months past, a club has been formed of certain of the Delegates from New England, New-Jersey, and this State, and of two or three members from the southward. They meet regularly, debate upon, and adjust the manner of their proceedings; and Congress, at all times, being a fluctuating and changing body, these men, acting in concert, are able to keep back or obstruct any measure whatever, until, by the absence of some members, and the division of others, they can, with a small majority, carry the vote as they please.

By accident I have had a sight and perusal of Mr. Deane's narrative, and I find that the first thing done by him, after his return, was to inform Congress that a foreign loan, if early and properly applied for, might be obtained; but that every day's delay rendered it more uncertain and difficult.

The necessity of our procuring a foreign loan is generally acknowledged; and, as we now experience paper currency to be no real property, but only the representative of money, it seems to be the desire of the people that this measure should be adopted; but already a jealousy has arisen, and the question is, who shall have the negociating of it? This has produced already much canvassing in secret, relative to the Plenipotentiary to be sent abroad on this important business.

The character with which Mr. Deane returned from the Court of France, and the reputation it was apprehended he would acquire from the treaties and the

fleet solicited for and obtained by him, together with the little attention (much too little for his interest or peace) which he paid those who formed this cabal, and who he knew had been secretly his enemies, set these men to move every engine in their power to prevent his either receiving the approbation of Congress for what he had done, or having any opportunity to serve his country further. Effectually to do this, every artifice was made use of to delay a decision on his affairs, and to spread, in the mean time, calumnious insinuations against him among the people. Unjustly and ungratefully indeed he has been treated! But had he only suffered, if this had been all, we might have been happy. Many are the evils the public have laboured under in consequence of this. The parties and factions raised on his and Mr. Lee's account have retarded and put off matters of infinitely great importance; and, in fact, brought us into our present disagreeable situation. It is certain that France does not wish a continuance of the war; Spain has long since been arming, and, as early as in November last, formally offered her mediation, and plainly declared she could no longer remain an inactive spectator of the ruin of the commerce of France; if her mediation should be refused, France, justly supposing that England would, on this, incline to peace, and apprehensive that application might be made to Congress to treat separately, immediately sent to their minister here, to apply to Congress, and to urge them (if they needed urging) to lose no time in coming to resolutions on what terms they would treat, and to appoint a person or persons to repair to Europe, with ample powers for that purpose; at the same time the strongest assurances were given of the friendship and assistance of France, and even of Spain, if their resolutions as to the terms of a treaty of peace were such as should be honorable and just.

The Minister waited on Congress early in February, with a message and information, to this purpose; and in a long interview with them, pressed on them

dispatch, in the most forcible terms. This was really the subject which gave rise to the report of great and good news, with which the whole Continent was for some time amused.

England, on her part, rightly judging that Spain would not take an active part until her mediation should be refused; and that she could not, without knowing the terms of America, have any grounds to go on with certainty; and doubtless finding other means to amuse and delay Spain, determined to exert her whole force during this interval, and try the fortune of another campaign, in which such events might arrive as might enable them to treat with more advantage on their side. They were further induced to this by having the supplies cheerfully voted in the House of Commons; and having no Continental war in Europe, they had no fear of losing any thing, and might gain much. In discussing what had been communicated and proposed by France to Congress, two objects are said to have been in view; the first, what the terms should be, and then who should be sent out charged with them. What and how many terms Congress have agreed upon, I know not; but though the Minister has been every week urging them to finish, they have to this hour delayed the giving him any answer. The difficulty arises from the New-England Delegates insisting, as I am informed, on making our right to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, &c., a *sine qua non*. They are, as is credibly whispered, joined in this by some Gentlemen from the other extremity of these States, and who firmly stand by each other, as they doubtless mean mutually to serve and carry on each other's purposes. Thus, as far as I can learn, the matter rests at present; and thus have the people of these States been deceived with the hopes of peace, whilst by these measures they will be exposed to suffer all the extremities of the reverse.

You will justly be surprized when I tell you that our Commissioners at Paris appear totally ignorant of

what is doing in either France, Spain, or England; for it is impossible they should be informed, and never write one syllable about it.

But what must be your surprize when I assure you that Congress was informed, and that by two of their members, in writing, that the French Minister had expressly declared, and wrote, that he could place no confidence in Mr. Lee, for he feared or suspected him, and those about him. What I say must be your surprize to find this party able, after this, to counteract a large majority of Congress, and prevent his recall! It is well known this Gentleman's former private Secretary was of a very suspicious character; that after going several times privately back and forth from Paris to London, he took up his residence in London, under the protection of the British Ministry; and that the man who succeeded him as Mr. Lee's Secretary was one *Ford*, a most infamous Tory, and a refugee parson from London, whither he had fled from Virginia, to avoid the vengeance of his countrymen, and where he lived like other refugees, until he went over to Paris, and entered on his Secretaryship under Mr. Lee. You will hardly credit this, but they are facts, and have long since been well attested and laid before Congress. By this one instance you will be able to judge of the strength of this minority, and to what lengths they will go in promoting private views, and supporting of their party, family connections, and interest. Were I to give you all the instances which have come to my knowledge, of transactions of a similar complexion, and of the wretched deranged state of our finances and other departments; and also of the trifling subjects which have repeatedly engaged Congress for days and weeks together, during the last important six or eight months, I should fill a volume, and might with great propriety entitle it, "The Book of Lamentations." But to lament is to no purpose; and unless different measures are pursued, I dread the consequences.

Governor Johnstone, you must remember, openly

declared in Parliament that he had made use (when in America) of other means than those of persuasion and argument, to effect the purposes of his commission. What those means were, the present times demonstrate —they already begin to have their dreadful effects— anarchy is now labouring to rear her tattered but bloody standard in this capital. In a word, unless this party and faction can be broke (for until it is, the same measures will be pursued) we shall be in danger, at least, of being ruined, and that suddenly by ourselves.

You will communicate the contents of this to whom you think proper; but I fear, at this time, that the public at large should know even the truth in its full extent; and yet it is cruel to keep them in suspence and ignorance, whilst accumulated ruin is preparing to burst on them from every quarter.

I will give you one instance with what industry this party, this select phalanx, conduct their manœuvres. The night before it was expected the question on Mr. Lee's recall was to be put, an express was sent off into Jersey, to call Dr. W[itherspoo]n, and Dr. S[cudde]r; Dr. W[itherspoo]n was alarmed at three o'clock in the morning, and set off instantly, to be in Congress before the question should be put; and Dr. S[cudde]r, who lived more remote, followed the same day, each of them with as much expedition as if they had been flying before the enemy. They arrived in season, and by the paper sent you herewith, you will see how they voted. *O tempora! O mores!*

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